

# THE GUARDIAN

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Government accused of giving force a political role

## Brittan gives police right to ban protests

By Stephen Cook and Colin Brown

Police powers to impose wide-ranging conditions on demonstrations, meetings and marches of all kinds were proposed by the Government in a white paper yesterday. It provoked hostile reactions inside and outside Parliament.

The Review of Public Order Law, prompted by the Government's concern at disorder during the Grunwick dispute, the miners' strike, and football matches, was condemned by the shadow home secretary, Mr Gerald Kaufman, who said the Labour Party would resist the proposed legislation.

He said the police were being forced by the Government into a political role because they would have to decide which demonstrations to restrict. It also breached a 1980 assurance by Mr James Prior, then Employment Secretary, that the control of picketing was nothing to do with the police.

He said: "It will turn the police into the reluctant and unwilling agent of government, industrial, and political policy and continue the practice of making the police the scapegoats for the failure of the Government's employment laws."

Mr Leon Brittan, the Home Secretary, rejected the Labour charge that the proposals infringed the rights of demonstration and peaceful dissent. It would be irresponsible, he said, to allow a demonstration to take place which would cause damage to property or to the safety of the public.

White Paper, page 6; Leader, comment, page 14

after the miners' strike, not to picketing, he said. "We must, and shall, continue to preserve the basic and crucial right to freedom of speech and freedom of assembly," he said. "But people also have the right to protection against being bullied, hurt, intimidated or obstructed, whatever the motives of those responsible might be — whether they are violent demonstrators, rioters, intimidatory mass picketers, or soccer hooligans."

Mr Brittan confirmed that the power to restrict the numbers of static gatherings would apply to football spectators, although it remains unclear how this would be handled in practice.

His proposals — the result of a review of the law begun when Blair Peach, a teacher was killed in an anti-National Front demonstration in Southall, in 1979 — were welcomed by Tory MPs.

The Police Federation and the Association of Chief Police Officers welcomed the proposals as giving greater scope for the police to exercise their common sense.

But the TUC said they could result in disorder and confusion and the National Council for Civil Liberties said the police could restrict meetings so severely that they would be ineffective.

Ms Marie Staunton, the NCCL's legal officer, said: "If the police were to instruct the organisers of an all-night vigil outside the Home Office to stand half-a-mile away, restrict their numbers to two, and stay for only 15 minutes, the effect would be virtually the same as a complete ban."

The NCCL welcomed the provision to ban single marches rather than impose blanket bans, and the proposal to tighten the law on incitement to racial hatred and racial inflammatory literature.

But Ms Staunton said the requirement to give advance notice of marches "will criminalise those who make a public response to an immediate event — such as the leak of chemicals from a local factory. Spontaneous demonstrations would require police permission."

The TUC said the white paper threatened long-established rights of peaceful demonstration and a new power of arrest for taking part in a prohibited march.

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## Labour plans banking take-over

By Michael Smith, Industrial Editor

Labour is expected to nationalise the key banking and finance undertaking, investors in industry, to form a main plank of the party's post-election industrial and economic policies.

Investors in industry — known at 31 — has been identified by Labour as the most suitable candidate within the clearing and merchant banking industry to form the nucleus of the proposed new National Investment Bank. It would be taken into public ownership as a matter of priority after the election.

Mr Roy Hattersley, the Shadow Chancellor, yesterday described the National Investment Bank as "the centrepiece of Labour's economic and industrial policy" at the next election.

The NIB's key role will be to provide traditional and cheap loans to small and medium-sized firms as part of a wider programme to stimulate industry and create long term jobs.

However, the choice of Investors in Industry as the launch vehicle for the NIB will surprise the City, where there had been fears that the next Labour government would nationalise one of the "big four" banks like Barclays or National Westminster.

But Mr Hattersley and senior Labour colleagues are understood to have rejected the nationalisation of a "big four" or top merchant banking firm, on the grounds that none of these has the expertise to carry through the party's policies.

On the other hand, 31 operates in a way which closely suits Labour's proposed role for the NIB.

The nationalisation of Investors in Industry would also cost considerably less than any of the "big four" banks. According to latest City estimates, 31 is worth between

£300 million and £400 million. While Barclays is valued at £1.3 billion, NatWest at £2.3 billion, and the Midland — the cheapest — at £830 million.

Paradoxically, the main banks control 85 per cent of investors in industry, with Bank of England holding a 15 per cent stake. The largest shareholder is National Westminster with 23.7 per cent, while the Midland owns over 18 per cent and Barclays nearly 19 per cent.

However, Labour's plan to bring the concern into State ownership will cast serious doubt on proposals by the banking shareholders to float 31 on the Stock Exchange.

The banks are currently examining the feasibility of a flotation, partly to cash in on their investment and partly because 31 is increasingly competing with its own shareholders for the same business.

Investors in Industry lent more than £130 million to firms in 1983/84 and earned a record profit of £38 million. Its assets were last valued at £1.5 billion.

But Labour's ambitious plans for the NIB would be expected to give "sympathetic consideration" to borrowing.

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City Notebook, page 20.

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## Miners who killed get life

By Paul Heyland

Two miners were jailed for life last night after being found guilty of murdering a taxi driver who was struck by a 46lb concrete block as he took a working miner to Merthyr Vale colliery in Mid Glamorgan during the coal strike last year.

The jury at Cardiff Crown Court took almost seven hours to reach their majority verdicts of 10-2 against Reginald Dean Hancock and Russell Shankland, both aged 21, of Rhymney, Mid Glamorgan.

Relatives cried out in the public gallery as Hancock's girlfriend, Miss Carole Hopkins, had to be carried from the court when she fell to the floor sobbing.

Passing sentence, Mr Justice Mann told the two men: "I have no doubt at all that the background to the offence was the coal strike, which engendered a climate of violence. That climate fostered your acts and you performed the ultimate act of violence for which you will each go to prison for life."

Hancock had admitted pushing the block off Rhymney Bridge as the taxi, in a police convoy, passed underneath before dawn on November 30. He broke down weeping and had to be helped from the dock.

Shankland, who had pushed a 65lb concrete post into the path of the taxi, hung his head as he fought back tears.

The taxi driver, Mr David Wilkie, died as the block crushed him but Mr Williams, aged 35, of Rhymney, was unhurt.

Mr John Prosser, QC, defending Shankland, told the court that during the coal strike Britain had been like a nation at war. "Those of you who have to consider his (Shankland's) position hereafter should know this: in that war there were victims and two of them are behind me now."

"I will simply say in the war there were generals, and they stood outside the law and they left Russell Shankland outside the law."

Earlier, a third miner Mr Anthony Glyndwr Williams, was acquitted of murder last week and cleared yesterday on two charges of conspiring to damage the taxi and endanger lives.

As he walked from the court with his wife, Joy, Mr Williams aged 26, of Rhymney, said he hoped to return to work at Markham Colliery, near Blackwood in Gwent.

He expressed sorrow for Mr Wilkie's family and added: "It was never meant to happen."

Mr Williams criticised the Director of Public Prosecutions for ordering his arrest and charges. He had been released by police after being questioned about why he ran off when the taxi crashed.

Mr Bill King, the miners' lodge secretary at Merthyr Vale colliery, yesterday blamed Mr Williams. "No one will ever speak to him at the pit. We will never forget what he did."

But Mr Williams said he had no intention of moving out of the area, despite being shunned by his colleagues.

A fund for Mr Wilkie and his dependants has raised £17,000.

Unheeded warning, page 2

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## Sinn Fein wins open new phase in Ulster politics

From Paul Johnson in Belfast

Sinn Fein won substantial representation in Northern Ireland's council chambers for the first time last night, opening a new phase in the province's politics.

Although only half the count for the Ulster local election was complete, Sinn Fein, the political arm of the IRA, had secured 33 seats in at least 13 of the province's 26 authorities.

That put Sinn Fein on target for a predicted total of about 50 seats. This significantly gives the party the opportunity to pursue its aim of destabilising the Government and administration of Northern Ireland.

Sinn Fein will not control any single authority alone but, in alliance with the Social Democratic and Labour Party, it will have a majority in several councils over the Unionists.

All Sinn Fein councillors support the IRA and among those elected yesterday were the brother and sister of IRA men shot dead by the army in two separate incidents last year and a Belfast man who has been convicted of a firearms offence.

Mr Martin McGuinness, a Sinn Fein member of the Northern Ireland Assembly, said last night: "The results are good, at the end of the day, it will be the cutting edge of the IRA which will bring freedom."

As he spoke outside the city hall in Londonderry, Sinn Fein's supporters waved tricolour and chanted pro-IRA slogans.

Tuesday shows the Official Unionist Party maintaining its dominant position over its rival, the Democratic Unionist Party. The SDLP will end up ahead of Sinn Fein, and the non-sectarian Alliance party seems to be suffering in a squeeze.

Sinn Fein's entry to local government has caused the Government on some scale has caused repercussions. The Government has prearranged that ministers will show courtesy delegations with Sinn Fein members.

That has brought assertions from Sinn Fein that the Government will be wilfully disfranchising thousands of voters.

The Rev Ian Paisley, leader of the DUP, said last night that local government in Northern Ireland would never be the same again.

"DUP councillors will be making the lives of Sinn Fein councillors as unbearable as possible. Where Unionists are in the majority, they (Sinn Fein) will not get on to committees or boards."

Mr James Moloney, the leader of the Official Unionist Party, said his group would have nothing to do with the Sinn Fein.

Mr John Hume's SDLP will hold a lead over the Sinn Fein when the count — conducted under the system of proportional representation — is completed today.

Mr Hume said last night that Sinn Fein had benefited through the effective elimination of the Irish Independence

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Picture, back page

the brother and sister of IRA men shot dead by the army in two separate incidents last year and a Belfast man who has been convicted of a firearms offence.

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## Organisers could face prison

THE WHITE PAPER on public order proposes a new power for the police to control the size, location, and duration of static demonstrations and meetings, including pickets and football crowds.

An extension of police powers to impose restrictions on marches if they fear disruption to traffic and shops, or the intimidation of individuals.

A penalty of three months in prison and a £1,000 fine for people organising or inciting the breaking of police conditions for marches or meetings.

Police Power to ban specific marches, as well as the present powers for blanket bans and bans on certain types of march.

A new requirement of seven days' notice to police of marches and processions.

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## Reagan warns EEC with \$2bn plan to increase farm exports

From Michael White in Washington

The Administration's announcement yesterday of a \$2 billion "glide" programme to raise US farm exports is intended as a warning to the EEC to reconsider its Common Agricultural Policy. The US move could lead to a farm price war in world markets.

There were anxieties, reflected in the Chicago commodity markets, that even this limited US action envisaged over the next three years could depress world prices and deepen the problems of American farmers which are primarily caused by the high dollar.

The Administration, however, is under intense pressure from farm belt congressmen for protectionism.

It appears to have acted to avoid the risk of the imposition of mandatory farm sanctions on the EEC by Congress, and to try to make its own farm policy more palatable by tackling the huge US surplus.

In promising commodity "bonuses" to buyers of surplus US farm products, in key markets, such as the Middle East, the Agriculture Secretary, Mr John Block, intends to win back export markets lost in recent years to "competitor nations which use unfair trading practices."

Privately, officials identify the dumping practices of the EEC, a charge which Common Market officials here reject.

Details of the "export enhancement" scheme have not yet been decided, although Mr Block hopes to make his first announcement by June 10.

The expectation is that while bonus offers need not necessarily be paid in the same



## Penalties on rates threatens teachers' pay offer

By Andrew Mounur,  
Education Staff

Education authorities were yesterday facing up to the financial consequences of settling the teachers' pay dispute threatening to cost £3 million in penalties for every £1 million added to the wage bill.

The scale of the problem casts doubt on their ability to hammer out an agreement with the unions when the Burnham pay negotiations resume on Thursday.

They face not only the extra price of the pay packets but far greater losses as the Treasury claws back large sums in the form of penalties for over-spending.

Job losses, however, would be likely to fall not on the teachers but on other council employees, although increasing numbers of teachers are employed on short-term contracts.

"Teachers are so expensive to get rid of the spokesman said."

Elsewhere, councils would consider savings by putting off building repairs and maintenance — work which has already been severely delayed for years as local authority leaders have struggled to balance their books.

The financial plight of the education authorities was made clear yesterday as their officials sought to cool some of the enthusiasm, hedged with caution, which emerged from Wednesday's Burnham meeting.

During the lengthy talks both sides considered — but

Thatcher's Finchley constituency have voted overwhelmingly in favour of staging selective strikes, which will hit 13 schools next week.

Only seven opposed the action in a ballot of 179 members of the National Union of Teachers. A three-day strike will start on Tuesday.

only informally — a phased or staged settlement spread throughout the current year. Later the teaching unions indicated that the proposals would start with back-dated 5 per cent settlement from last April 1, rising to possible 7.5 per cent in January, 1986, and average out at 6 per cent over 12 months.

The figures, unlikely to satisfy the thirty National Union of Teachers in any event, were discounted by employers' side yesterday. The management panel intends to put forward another offer next week.

It also became clear yesterday that Sir Keith Joseph, the Education Secretary, is ready to use his veto to block any proposed deal. He has two civil servants on the Burnham management panel with power of veto "if the total cost of a proposed settlement will not find favour with the Government."

The employers feel that a settlement below 7 per cent would be acceptable to Downing Street. Any deal however comes at a time when their budgets are tight and they are barred from levying a supplementary rate by the 1982 Local Authority Finance Act.

Birmingham, which has nearly 13,000 teachers, has budgeted for a 5 per cent rise for all its employees this year. A teachers' salary settlement 1 per cent above that target would cost the city an extra £1 million.

"But you can't have that at ratepayer level because we are into penalties," said Mr Bernard Farrer, the deputy city treasurer. Similarly, a 2 per cent settlement would cost an extra £2 million with possible penalties of £5 million to £8 million.

Kent, the largest Conservative-controlled county, has a similar number of teachers and has set its budget for a 4.5 per cent pay increase for 1985.

Mr Bill McNeill, the county education committee chairman, said: "If we go beyond that target we start to pay £3 for every £1 we spend. If we spent £1 million over target it would cost us £4 million."

The judge said that for many years, Mr Williams, aged 68, a retired management consultant of Brynhydd Farm, Glamorgan, Glydy, had claimed that he invented a mechanism by which the numbers of cheques could be magnifi-

cally recorded and read, and that the major clearing banks in the United Kingdom and America had "ditched" his idea.

Mr Williams' original modest test case claim for £75 royalties from Lloyds Bank, which was struck out by the court, had swelled to £3,500 million, plus interest, against all the main United Kingdom banks.

His claim was even larger. Mr Williams had also brought a variety of cases against the British Gas Corporation and the social services secretary, said the judge.

After the hearing, Mr Williams said: "I will go to the European courts if human rights."

He admitted he enjoyed going to court. "It's a nice day out. If I was at home now, all I would be doing is feeding the sheep."

"It's only cost me about 140. I stayed overnight in the Salvation Army hostel."

## Warning driver's killers failed to heed

Paul Hoyland traces the events before the death of David Wilkie

THE killing of taxi driver David Wilkie, the worst single incident in the miners' strike, came within weeks of the police issuing a blunt warning to the pickets that their conduct could result in murder.

Two miners, Dean Hancock and Russell Shankland, helped turn public opinion against the strike when they dropped a concrete block and post on to the taxi as it passed under Rhymney Bridge in Mid-Glamorgan last November 30.

At the end of September, Mr Viv Brook, then the assistant chief constable of South Wales, had called a press conference after miners on bridges along the M4 motorway attacked convoys carrying coal from Port Talbot to Llanwern steel works.

Lorry windows were smashed and one large stone crashed through the fibre glass roof of a cab, narrowly missing the driver. There were no arrests.

Mr Brook said then: "I appeal to these miners who are throwing objects to think of the possible consequences to innocent people who are using the motorway. They are very fortunate that a serious accident did not occur today."

"As we all know, it is

very often the innocent people who are killed or seriously injured." Miners attacking the convoys would be arrested and charged with murder if they caused a fatal crash.

Two months later, violence erupted again as small numbers of Welsh miners returned to work on the coalfield that was most solid in support for the strike.

Some of the most serious incidents were at Merthyr Vale colliery in the village of Aberfan, where the scars of the colliery tip disaster that killed more than 100 people — many children — 19 years ago have barely begun to heal.

Mr Wilkie, aged 35, was driving two working miners to the pit through a hostile picket line each day. His employers were on contract to the National Coal Board to transport working miners to and from their homes.

By the end of November, almost 30 policemen had been injured in clashes with pickets at Merthyr Vale, where 642 men were on strike.

Labour MPs urged the board to send home the 125 men out of 20,000 who had crossed picket lines in South Wales. They warned that the use of hundreds of police to



After the attack—Mr Wilkie's taxi by the roadside

get a handful of miners into work was creating further bitterness in the valleys and tearing the communities apart.

The people of Aberfan were so upset by the sight of police struggling with pickets

that they arranged an inter-denominational "service of concern".

On November 29, 11 men were arrested and two policemen injured during attempts to stop Mr Wilkie's taxi, the main Merthyr to Cardiff road was blocked by

250 pickets and another road was blocked when Hancock sawed down a post carrying a power supply line.

The following day, Hancock and Shankland went to Rhymney Bridge before dawn and dropped the car on to Mr Wilkie's taxi as

it was travelling in a police convoy.

The prosecution at Cardiff crown court said the two miners had been "cool, calm, calculated and skilful." In the witness box they were remorseful and said they had intended to miss the taxi but frightened the passenger, a working miner, Mr David Wilkie.

Six days before Mr Wilkie was killed, Hancock had been arrested for throwing a bottle at Mr Williams' house and shouting "You scabby bastard." He had told police: "I will get the bastard."

The court heard that Hancock was not interested in miners' strikes at his pit. Although he had been picketing, he did not "give a damn" about the strike, which had given him more time to pursue his favourite hobby of hunting rabbits.

Miners at Merthyr Vale had pledged never to speak to Mr Williams again.

Shankland told the jury he had voted against the strike but would never cross a picket line. He had seen a picture of line violence in which both police and miners had acted disgracefully. He had kept well away from such incidents.

The court heard that after being arrested, Hancock blamed Arthur Scargill for his predicament. "I am not in work because of that Scargill and it is him to thank for me being here."

"I don't want to be on strike. I am here against my will," he said, having a steak dinner in Yorkshire.



David McKie

## The town with no return tickets

IF YOU were Simon Coombs, Conservative MP for Swindon for the past two years, the question which might be haunting you today is: What became of Christopher Ward?

Christopher Ward was Conservative MP for Swindon too, from 1969 when he knocked Labour out at a bye-election to the 1970 General Election when Swindon resumed its normal allegiance and dumped him. He never came back. According to 'Who's Who', he's now a solicitor with Clark and Son of Reading.

So if you were Mr Coombs, with a majority over Labour of just 2.5 per cent, you'd surely be apprehensive by now that you might face, like the Wards and Toms and Austicks of an earlier day, to flourish for a brief season and then drop back into obscurity.

You'd be telling yourself, no doubt, that it's wrong to attach too much weight to any election when it's a failure, and that anyway this Parliament still has some time to run.

You'd take comfort, too, from the parade of good news which your backbench colleagues paraded before the Prime Minister at Question Time yesterday: 6,000 new jobs from Shell, numbers in work still rising, better days at BL.

Yet none of that would do much to allay the wrath and the fear of people back home at the news that the railway works — the very foundation of industrial Swindon — are to shut with the loss of more than 2,000 jobs.

And you'd feel that especially when — according to Junior Transport Minister, David Mitchell, yesterday — new investment, higher efficiency and productivity, the very things for which we are all supposed to strive, are being reduced by the need for maintenance and repair, effectively finished off Swindon.

You'd perhaps have noticed, too, Gallup's evidence on public attitudes — sometimes a more lasting guide than the flicking record of the state of the parties. You'd have seen how many believe unemployment will keep on climbing if the Tories get a third term. You'd have seen cheered by the finding that people still expect more law and order under the Tories, and less (though only just) under Labour.

But you might also be wondering how long that could last when the TV news carried a picture of a Conservative Home Secretary, getting the bird from the Police Federation.

Perhaps Leon Brittan's statement yesterday on public order would have helped, as a sign that law and order were still in safe hands. Yet the local election would have taught you that voters are beginning of chafe against Mrs T's authoritarian style.

And Gallup reports that more voters fear higher government control over people's lives under a new Tory government than under a returning Labour one. That one vote winning charge which the Tories may not be able to level so effectively against Labour in '87.

So what about Centre Forward? Not just at the moment, perhaps. The tendency yesterday seemed to be to treat it as a bit of a joke. Mrs Thatcher flourished Rhodes Boyson's book of the same name and said she was glad the doctor was winning converts.

John Biffen offered Tony Baldry (Banbury), billed as the group's first defector, the generosity traditionally given to repentant sinners. Winterton loudly explained, the poor lad had never joined in the first place.

The best line of all, though, came from John Stokes, who'll no doubt be launching Conservative Right Back any day now. Mrs Thatcher, he said, might wish to end class war, but the Government should be kindly with the upper and land-owning classes since they'd served our nation well in spite of some recent lapses.

John Biffen, oddly, either couldn't or wouldn't twig the meaning. But no one else doubted it was the Gilmore and Pym's whose blotted cushions the Member for Halesowen had in mind.

## 'Months of silence' after letters on club fire risk

By Malcolm Pithers

The chairman of Bradford City Football Club, Mr Stafford Heginbotham yesterday made the first full statement through his solicitor, about the controversy over safety which has arisen since the fire to the club's main stand.

His statement confirms a report in the Guardian this week that it was the club that first approached the Football Grounds Improvements Trust for a grant to repair the main stand in October 1983 and that a series of conversations and letters had taken place between the club, the West Yorkshire County Council, the police and West Yorkshire Fire Brigade.

The issue of why no action was taken by either the club or the authorities concerned about safety and the fire risk at the ground is not answered.

Mr Heginbotham says only that "No visits or communications from any of the authorities — the police, West Yorkshire County Council and the fire brigade — were made between July 1984 and April 1985."

Mr Heginbotham had maintained since the fire that two letters sent to the club by West Yorkshire County Council had never been received or seen.

The controversy concerning the letters began when the chief fire officer for West Yorkshire, Mr Graham Karan, revealed at a press conference on Sunday that a letter had been sent by the local authority in excess of six months ago "to the club concerning the fire regulations."

Many of Mr Karan's remarks at that press conference were not accurately reported but later West Yorkshire County Council explained that when the text of



Mr Stafford Heginbotham — full statement

shire County Council released copies of their engineering executive director's letters, dated July 11 and 18, 1984.

The first letter referred to the roofing on the stand and said this formed "an unacceptable fire hazard" and should be rectified "as soon as possible." The second letter went into specific details of safety.

Mr Heginbotham's statement yesterday said that when mention had been made on Sunday of a fire hazard at the club it was stated that the fire officer had written to the club within the last six months.

He said that the chairman and club secretary had searched the "records" and found that no such letter had been received from the fire officer and that this was later confirmed by the fire officer himself.

Mr Karan never claimed that he or the fire brigade had written to the club.

Mr Heginbotham went on to explain that when the text of

the two letters from West Yorkshire County Council were released a further search of the club records revealed that although dated one week apart the letters had been received by the club in the same envelope.

He said it was only because of an approach by the club that the letters were sent.

He said that in October, 1983, an application had been made to the Football Grounds Improvements Trust for a grant towards repair of the groundstand roof. Mr Heginbotham said yesterday that this application was refused in March, 1984.

The trust in fact had a conversation with club officials and then carried out its own survey work on the stand.

Mr Heginbotham went on to say that an approach was later made to the police. This brought about the letter from Superintendent Paul Briggs on June 27, 1984.

On receiving that letter an approach was made by the club to West Yorkshire County Council telling them of what the police had said and requesting them to inspect the roof. This brought about the July letters and the engineer's report.

Mr Heginbotham said that the engineer told them he would write confirming his verbal opinion about the state of the roof in the hope that this would assist the club to obtain a grant.

When the club secretary returned from holiday, he said the letter received from the police in June, 1984, together with the letter from the county council dated July 11 to the Football Trust supporting a renewed application for a grant stand roof repairs grant. The grant was approved last January.

Mr Heginbotham said: "It will be appreciated that as revealed by the contents of the letter dated July 11 the principal concern at that time, was the possibility of further deterioration to the roof causing decay of roof boarding which might be vulnerable to high winds. No recommendations were made by the council as to the type of materials that should be used in the reconstruction."

"The second letter of July 18 dealt with improvements which would be required by the council if and when the club was promoted to the Second Division."

## Weedkiller destroys meadow of orchids

By Sarah Boseley

AN ESSEX landowner has defied conservationists and sprayed a two-acre habitat of some 15,000 rare green-winged orchids with weedkiller before the land could be protected as a Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI).

The failure of the Government's conservation apparatus will strengthen the hand of the politicians and environmentalists behind the wildlife and countryside amendment bill now going through the House of Lords.

Lord Melchett, who has taken the Act over from Dr David Clark in the Commons, will raise the case of the orchids in its second reading today.

Mr Philip Underwood, aged 52, and his son, Basil, of West Hesse, wanted to build seven houses on the site, or looking the sea and undisturbed for decades, with planning permission, which the land once had but has since expired. It was worth £100,000.

The Nature Conservancy Council, the Government's watchdog body, applied to the Environment Secretary for an emergency prevention order but the machinery was unable to engage fast enough. The rare Mersea pea and adder's tongue ferns abounding on the site were also destroyed.

While the letter sat in a departmental in-tray, the Underwoods prepared to act. On Wednesday, environmental protesters staged a sit-in when they went home in the evening, police arrived to supervise three men as they sprayed the entire field with an all-purpose herbicide.

The council's usual procedure is to designate a site an SSSI under another section of the Act but it is badly hampered by a three-month loophole. During that period, for counter arguments to be put forward, the landowner is still legally entitled to continue with his plans.

If the Amendment Act is passed Mr Vittery said the prevention order would be effective immediately. The council issued the notice to the landowner, and he could be prosecuted for damaging the site.

## Ford plan axes 1,200 jobs

By Keith Harper,  
Labour Editor

Up to 1,200 workers at Ford's wheel plant and press shop at Dagenham will lose their jobs in a five-year plan now being studied by the company.

The proposals to close the plants are revealed in an internal company document which has been forwarded to the Guardian. The plan, which covers the period between now and 1990, indicates that Halewood and Dagenham are due to "approach" full capacity by 1990, but there is no suggestion of making any cutbacks at Halewood.

But the proposals cover only the company's plans for body and assembly operations. They do not include the fate of the various European engine plants, or components activity.

The document however looks forward to even more reductions in personnel by early retirement and the ending of what it calls "restrictive trade demarcations."

The document comes at a time when there is increased speculation about a collaboration between Ford and Fiat. An announcement is expected next month about substantial

cuts in personnel at Ford of Europe.

Mr Bob Lutz, chairman of Ford of Europe, has indicated that the company will go for increased volume and not for cost-cutting.

Halewood and Dagenham are in line for increased performance improvements, primarily by daily volume increase, according to the document. This will be achieved, not only by manpower reductions at Dagenham, but by improved methods of production.

Mr John Chawcra, divisional official of ASTMS, said last night that the document revealed a very real threat to Dagenham as well as increased company pressure for ever greater job flexibility. Combined with the likely consequences of Ford/Fiat collaboration in Europe, it was evident that the Ford unions were again being shut out of the company's decision-making process when many hundreds of jobs were at stake.

Ford last night said it was not prepared to comment about the document. It added that if one believed every plan leaked from the company that Ford would hardly have any plant left in Britain.

## Rodgers warning on 'social market'

By James Naughtie,  
Chief Political Correspondent

Dr David Owen, was warned last night by one of the founders of the Social Democratic Party that he was leaning too far to the right in his enthusiasm for a social market economic theory.

Mr Bill Rodgers, vice-president of the SDP, said: "It is time to talk more of our tender dimension and to make it better known that we are a party of social reform, deeply concerned with the welfare of our people."

In a lecture to the Tawney Society, Mr Rodgers argued that the SDP's historic role was to replace the Labour Party and he said: "We are the party of the centre and not least of all of the centre right."

As he spoke, Dr Owen was delivering the Hugh Gaiskill memorial lecture at Nottingham University, in which he developed his idea of an SDP economic policy and argued for a move towards share economy, where wages became less

important than a worker's share of the profits of his enterprise.

He presented his economic ideas — based on the work of Professors Martin Weitzman and James Meade — as evidence that in the Alliance constructive policy making was going ahead in a way which he claimed Labour had abandoned.

Dr Owen declared his enthusiasm for dismantling nationalised industries and encouraging share ownership among employees and workers' co-operatives.

He argued that if British Gas was to be privatised it should be done by giving free shares to every adult citizen, giving a massive boost to share ownership.

It was precisely such enthusiasm that clearly lay behind Mr Rodgers' warning in his speech. Pushed too far, he said, and the SDP would find that the public good is simple: the same total of private endeavours. I would draw the line at that."

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## Judge puts brakes on 'vexatious' inventor

AN inventor who says the banks have stolen his work and who has spent 14 years pursuing a £3,500 million claim against them had the brakes put on him by a High Court judge yesterday.

Mr Justice Gidwell declared Richard Hugh Williams a "vexatious litigant." The judge's order, made at the request of the Attorney General, prevents Mr Williams from continuing any current legal actions, starting new ones or making applications to the courts without first obtaining the consent of the High Court.

"This unusual order is made in the public interest," said the judge. "It does not put a stop on proceedings, but a filter."

The judge said that for many years, Mr Williams, aged 68, a retired management consultant of Brynhydd Farm, Glamorgan, Glydy, had claimed that he invented a mechanism by which the numbers of cheques could be magnifi-

## Couple's death pact

Two mental patients made a suicide pact because they thought they would never be allowed to marry, a coroner said yesterday.

Edward Clare, aged 30, and Ernesta Fuller, aged 29, escaped from Runwell Hospital, Wickford, Essex, in March after attacking a nurse.

They took a taxi to nearby Eastwood where they entered a block of council flats and jumped to their deaths from an upper balcony. Mr Guy Jernan, the Southend coroner said.

"They probably both realised the difficulty of their situation and thought that as detained mental patients they would be unable to marry."

Screen witch

MARGARET HAMILTON, who played the Wicked Witch of the West in the film classic The Wizard of Oz, has died of an apparent heart attack at the age of 82.

## Legion tests on cooling towers negative

By Staff Reporters

Initial tests on the suspected source of the Legionnaires' disease outbreak in Staffordshire have proved negative, it was disclosed last night.

The bacteria which have killed 37 people were believed to have developed in cooling towers used in the air conditioning system Stafford District General Hospital.

But so far tests have found no trace of the disease in the water, said Mr James Hutchinson, director of Birmingham public health laboratory.

He added: "It doesn't mean the water is exonerated. We have got to look harder and longer. The water is still under scrutiny."

The organisms had a habit of "coming and going," he said.

Dr Hutchinson, a consultant microbiologist, has carried out tests for the Communicable Diseases Surveillance Centre on more than 80 water samples from the air conditioning system.

Two more Stafford hospital workers have been infected with the bacteria.

The pair, a nurse in the district hospital's outpatients de-

partment and a technician who visited the hospital, have not developed serious symptoms and remain at work, said a health authority spokesman.

Six nurses have already been found to have been infected.

Two men, one aged 49 from Stafford the other aged 73 from Cannock, have been admitted to hospital suffering from the disease.

Health officials in Stafford are treating a case of Legionnaires' Disease in the same hospital where survivors of the football tragedy are being cared for.

A second suspected case is also under observation. The hospital, St Luke's, does not have a ventilation system and has been cleared by Bradford health officials.

The patient who is suffering from the disease in Bradford was treated in the outpatients department of Stafford district hospital last week, where health officials believe he contracted the illness.

The suspected case involves a relative of a woman who works in a Bradford school who contracted the disease but has been successfully treated.

## Three guilty over Duke of Devonshire cheques

The son of the Duke of Devonshire's butler and two other men were convicted yesterday of stealing and cashing cheques worth £61,000.

The three were described by the prosecution as "a greedy trio who haunted West End nightclubs and casinos and put their heads together to take advantage of the Duke, a short-sighted old man with odd habits."

Peter Callaghan, aged 28,

son of the 65-year-old Duke's butler, Hercules "Bick" Koumpis, and Andrew Shellis were sentenced at the Old Bailey on Monday.

Callaghan, a bar manager, of Leicester Street, London, was convicted of stealing the cheques.

Koumpis, aged 32, a technical manager of Hereford Street, Acton, West London, and Shellis, aged 43 of Northolt Road, Harrow, were

found guilty of using forged cheques totalling £61,000.

The money has not been recovered and the loss will be borne by the National Westminster, the Duke's bank.

Over the weekend, the judge will consider whether to confiscate a £10,000 Mercedes bought by Koumpis, a Cypriot, for cash allegedly from the proceeds of the swindle and also whether to deport him.

Revelations and innuendo about the Duke of Devonshire's private life frequently overshadowed the theft.

The wealthy aristocrat was quizzed more about his girlfriends and the gifts he lavished upon them than he was about the cheques.

The Duke's ladies, much to Fleet Street's disappointment, were never named in court. One was on holiday with the Duke in Devon when the cheques disappeared.



## Bath spa water back on tap

Dennis Johnson finds refreshment as a city celebrates the return of a renowned water supply

THE warm spring waters of Bath began to flow for human consumption again yesterday, making the first stage of a spa restoration programme due to be completed in 1987.

Lord Spencer, the father of the Princess of Wales, formally "reopened" the fountain in the Pump Room, taking up a half-pint of the clear, lukewarm fluid and declaring: "It is my pleasure to drink the first glass of water."

Lord Spencer, the co-author of a book on British spas, did not subscribe to Sam Weller's description of the waters of Bath in the Pickwick Papers as tasting like "warm flat irons."

"I know my spa waters, and this is very pure compared with some of the opaque waters elsewhere in the country," he said later over a lunchtime cocktail.

Bath's pleasure at the restoration was not entirely unalloyed. The Pump Room, which has been closed since 1974, has been the subject of some controversy over its future. Some councillors have announced their intention to charge 25p a glass to cover the costs of dispensation and maintenance, though the waters have flowed freely from the deep rocks for millennia.

Public access to the thermal springs was banned seven years ago, after the discovery of an Amoeba which contaminated the water and killed a girl.

The 18th century thermal baths were also closed after the National Health Service withdrew support for the former treatment centre.

The city has since spent £200,000 on sinking a new bore hole into the rocks, the source of the new, bug-free supply to the Pump Room.

The most substantial part of the restoration programme, costing up to £7 million, is expected to start towards the end of this year, involving the refurbishment of three spa pools and a new shopping development on the site of the old treatment centre.

This is the outcome of six years of discussions between Bath and a procession of promoters with ambitious plans to regenerate the spa.

Mr John Tham, managing director of the Blakeney Hotels Group, which is to restore the 18th century Cross Bath, the Old Royal Bath and the Beau Street Bath, at a cost of about £3 million, said he hoped to exchange contracts on the property this autumn and to begin work shortly afterwards.

The Cross Bath, he said, would eventually be handed over to a charity to be run for the benefit of sufferers from arthritis and other complaints.

The city's lands committee was last night considering a short-list of possible contractors for the shopping development, which will face the restored spa buildings in Bath Street.

The city intends to ask the successful contender for a premium of around £800,000, which will go towards improving the immediate environment.

The restoration programme as a whole is expected to create over 100 permanent jobs.



Taking the water—Lord Spencer in Bath yesterday when he reopened the spa fountain in the city's Pump Room

Committee doubts that ending low pay controls will create more jobs

## MPs reject wage councils abolition

By Patrick Wintour, Labour Staff

The all-party Commons employment select committee yesterday advised the Government not to abolish the Wage Councils which set minimum pay and conditions for nearly 3 million low-paid workers.

Only one member of the committee, which has a Conservative majority, Mr Peter Thurnham, objected to its recommendation. The members will put further pressure on the Government to re-think its plans which are largely based on the premise that labour market rigidities are holding back the prospects for jobs.

The Government believes that wage cuts will create more jobs and has to decide soon whether to repudiate the

International Labour Office Convention 26, the necessary prelude to abolition of the councils.

The committee takes a sceptical view of the proposition that the councils push pay above a market rate and thereby inhibit employment.

Mr Ron Leighton, Labour chairman of the committee, said yesterday that the Treasury model showing that a one per cent cut in real wages would create 150,000 jobs "had been widely queried due to some of its controversial questions".

He pointed out that a Warwick University simulation created only one tenth of that number of jobs.

Even if abolition led to a 2 per cent cut in real wages, only 25,000 jobs would be created on the Treasury's own assumption, says the committee's report.

There is no evidence that pay cuts for workers covered by the wage councils would lead to a general fall in wages throughout the economy.

The report also says that an academic survey of the impact of the councils' minimum pay legislation in the retail trade showed that low levels of demand rather than excessive pay, caused job losses.

No evidence had been produced by ministers to show that the repeal of the Fair Wages Resolution in 1983, which forced government contractors to pay a minimum rate, had led to job creation.

Indeed, the Council of Civil Service Unions and the Contract Cleaning Association said the result had been both a cut in wages and jobs.

In presenting the arguments for retaining the councils the committee says they prevent wage undercutting and help to stabilise industrial relations in an area in which unions find it difficult to gain a foothold.

About two thirds of employees covered by the councils are part-time and four fifths of them female.

The Treasury and Department of Employment are believed to be at odds over the future of the councils with the Treasury favouring outright abolition and the Employment Department preferring widespread reform.

But the select committee says the weight of evidence favours reform. Many witnesses said council orders were too complex and that a single rate of pay for adults would be preferable.

Some individual members of the committee, notably Mr Tony Baldry, Tory MP for Banbury, favour removing young people from the councils' scope, but the committee states that a major reduction in the earnings of youths relative to adults since 1979 has had no apparent employment effect.

Mr Chris Pond, the director of the Low Pay Unit welcomed the report last night saying it had exposed the paucity of argument and lack of evidence on which government's plans were based.

## Group wants Holloway psychiatric wing replaced

By Sarah Bassey

Holloway Prison's psychiatric wing should be closed and replaced with a unit for disturbed women offering much higher standards of care, according to the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (Nacro).

Concern has been expressed recently about conditions in the wing C1, where women have injured or killed themselves. Most of the wing's inmates are on remand.

Nacro says in the written submission to a Home Office committee on the future of Holloway: "Present conditions in the unit are totally unsuitable."

"It is too cramped, facilities for association are too few and many women are locked in their cells for long periods, particularly if they are too disturbed to go to the skills training centre on the unit."

The unit is inadequately staffed, and women are locked up for the night at 4.30 because of overtime problems.

Besides the mentally disturbed, women have been placed in C1 because they pose a control problem. As a result, "the atmosphere is punitive, not therapeutic. Seclusion and restraint which should be rarely used, and only as emergency measures, have been the norm."

The committee set up by the Home Office in December is expected to report in July. It comprises four prison service

staff, a member of Holloway's Board of Visitors and a representative from the Department of Health and Social Security.

The committee is examining how the London prison can be developed as the "main local prison for women in the South of England," with the possibility of specialist functions being moved elsewhere.

Nacro expresses opposition to this scheme in its submission. The specialist functions Holloway offers — such as the therapeutic unit for drug ad-

dicts, the mother and baby unit and a psychiatric wing — should remain available in London at the largest women's prison.

Nacro recommends that maximum use should be made of the expansion and new facilities of Holloway, there 10 years of reconstruction is near completion.

Durham Prison's unsatisfactory H wing for women should be closed and Holloway's maximum security wing should be used instead, it says.

## Old synod guard faces challenge

By Martyn Halsall, Churches Correspondent

YOUNGER members of the Church of England have launched a campaign to reform "the geriatric nature of the General Synod."

They want younger people to contest seats in its House of Laity in elections this September, when candidates will have to declare their ages for the first time.

More than a third of the 44 diocesan bishops have shown interest in the campaign, promoted through the Church of England's Youth Assembly.

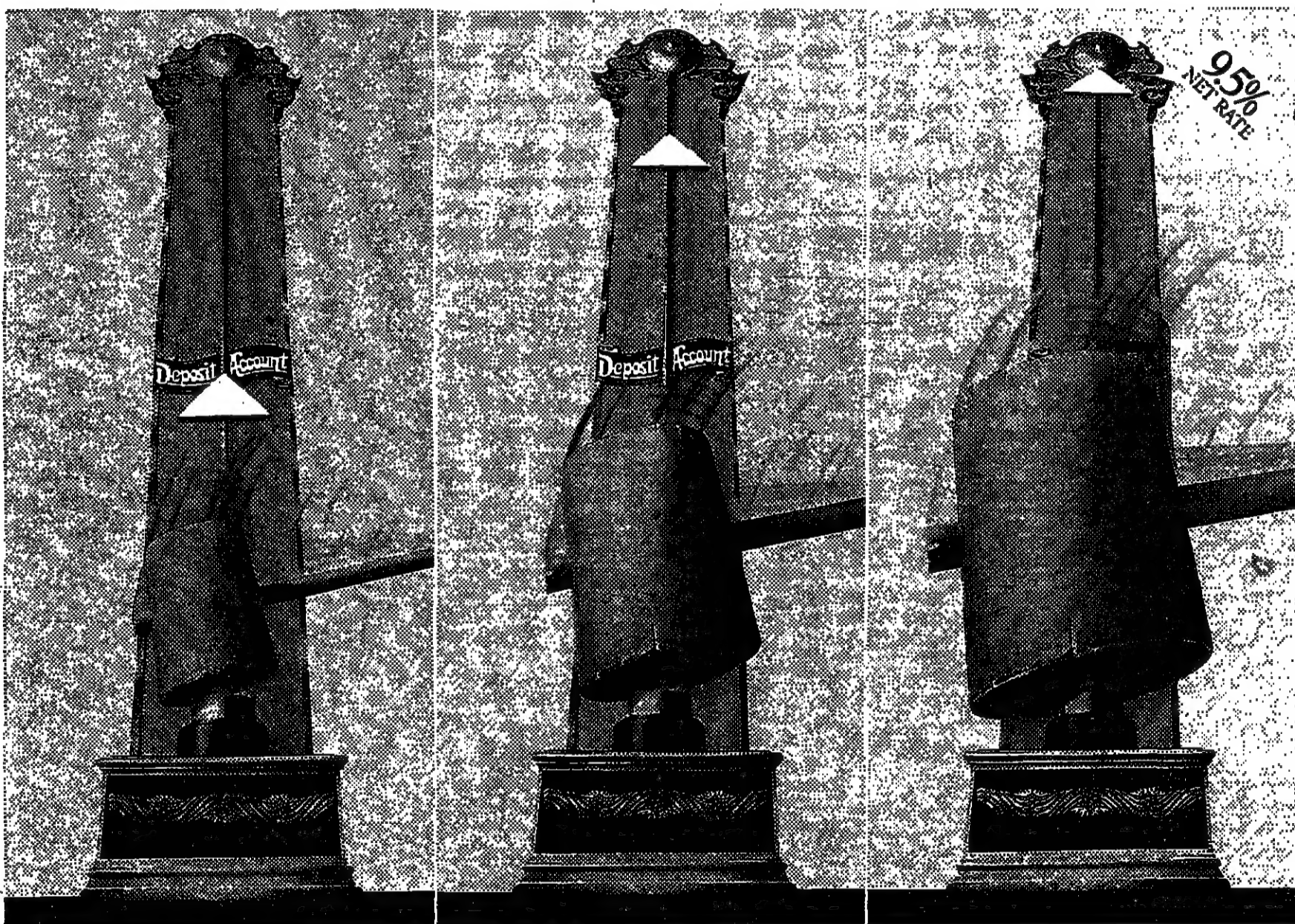
Initial briefings included advice from one of the elder statesmen of the synod, Mr Oswald Clark, aged 67, chairman of the House of Laity, and 16 youngest member, Mrs Ruth Day, who will be 27 on Sunday.

Several thousand members of deanery synods elect the 250 members of the House of Laity, of whom 72 per cent are over 50. 10 per cent over 70 and only two members are under 30. There is understood to be considerable enthusiasm among senior church "civil servants" for a younger synod.

The need to devote almost three weeks a year to synod sessions in London and York has been a large obstacle to young lay members. Mrs Day said her membership once threatened to consume her husband's holiday entitlement in baby-sitting duties.

Mr Mark Ashton, of the Church Youth Fellowship Association, said the campaign made "an exceptionally valuable case about the geriatric nature of the General Synod." Candidates must be aged 18 to stand for the synod, whose elections take almost a month with the count lasting four days. Each synod is elected for five years.

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Michael Stephenson and John Weil

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## Auditor General condemns muddle between ministers

# Benefit pay-out to unemployed millions adrift in claims maze

By David Hencke, Social Services Correspondent

At the same time, some claimants can receive housing benefit which is administered by local authorities, but relies on certificates issued by the DHSS.

Incomplete liaison between the three sets of offices means that staff at unemployment offices do not know whether claimants receive housing benefit. Even the liaison between the DHSS and Department of Employment is inadequate the report said.

To add to the confusion, payment of benefits is not simultaneous. Unemployment benefit is paid fortnightly — one week in advance and one week in arrears — while supplementary benefit is paid fortnightly in advance.

It is these circumstances which have led to an overpayment of unemployment benefit and an underpayment of supplementary benefit.

The report said that "the present arrangements are complex, and lead to inefficiencies resulting in extra administrative costs and difficulties for claimants."

It called on the DHSS to evaluate "options for radical change recognised over a decade ago" and to ensure that claimants only have to deal with one office.

The DHSS told the Auditor-General that a heavy workload had prevented it tackling the problem which had been aggravated by strikes and staff cuts.

**Unemployment Benefit Service: Report by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, Stationery Office £3.50.**

Under present regulations unemployed people with sufficient national insurance contributions can claim unemployment benefit for the first year of unemployment.

The confusion has intensified following the abolition of earnings-related unemployment benefit for the first year of unemployment.

The report said that "the present arrangements are complex, and lead to inefficiencies resulting in extra administrative costs and difficulties for claimants."

It called on the DHSS to evaluate "options for radical change recognised over a decade ago" and to ensure that claimants only have to deal with one office.

The DHSS told the Auditor-General that a heavy workload had prevented it tackling the problem which had been aggravated by strikes and staff cuts.

## Pay review prompts GPs' work inquiry

By our Social Services Correspondent

The Government is to investigate the workload of general practitioners as part of the independent review of doctors' and dentists' pay.

The study will start in July as a two-month pilot project. It will be extended for a year to cover 1,000 doctors, if it is successful.

Doctors will be asked to

complete a diary of activities for one week and complete a questionnaire covering the work. This year's pay award which has to be approved by the Prime Minister, is due to be published shortly.

Doctors have complained for some time that their pay does not reflect their range of activities, which includes working in family planning clinics and hospitals as well as being on call and running surgeries.

## Asbestos move on Trident

By Jean Stead, Scottish Correspondent

A move to stop the Ministry of Defence from developing the Trident missile submarine base on the Clyde was made yesterday by Dumbarton District Council.

Notices were served on the ministry under a Scottish Public Health Act of 1937 to prevent it removing dangerous asbestos in bags by road and sea in order to build new jetties next to the submarine station.

The notices require the ministry to cover the contaminated area of 62 acres with crushed stone, and to put on topsoil and seed it with grass.

Asbestos from the council said that it was confident the MoD would have to abide by the Health Act, making the development of the site impossible.

He went on: "The safest method of dealing with this asbestos is the one we are requiring them to carry out, which would render the land sterile, but would mean it could not be disturbed for construction work."

The spokesman said the council had received no notification from the Ministry that work was to be started at the site this week, and had learnt of it through the newspapers.

Earlier this week, a Ministry statement said that Dumbarton council would be given full access to the site for safety monitoring in collaboration with the Health and Safety Executive, which has arrangements for the removal of the asbestos.

An MoD spokesman at the Faslane base said last night that the notices had not yet been received.

Opposition has been aroused by plans to take 90 per cent of the asbestos across the Clyde to Greenock and then by road to a newly licensed dump at Glenboig near Glasgow, more than 20 miles away. A public meeting has been called in Greenock next week, at which delegates from the trades unions with members involved in the operation will be present.

The Ministry is proposing to move 3,000 cubic metres of asbestos, a small part of 100,000 cubic metres of blue, white and brown asbestos, on a former naval shipbreaker's yard. The final plan is to use the yard as a shipyard and berths for Trident submarines and other ships.

**'Driftwood' sale**

A ship's sextant dating from 1730 found on a Scottish beach as a seemingly worthless piece of driftwood is likely to fetch about £3,500 when auctioned at Sotheby's in London as part of a sale of navigational instruments next month.

# Labour left's old favourites falter

By Martin Linton

The Labour Party's annual conference, the election of the national executive committee at its conference in September, is becoming a battleground for new divisions emerging within the left.

Mr Tony Benn has topped one poll for the last few years, closely followed by Mr Eric Heffer and Mr Dennis Skinner. But Mr Benn and Mr Skinner have lost some support recently because of their flirtation with the far left and support for a general strike.

Some sections of the left are keen to encourage a group on the executive which wants to build bridges with Mr Neil Kinnock, the party leader. The group centres on the social services spokesman, Mr Michael Meacher, the Sheffield council leader, Mr David Blunkett, and Mr Tom Sawyer of the National Union of Public Employees.

The Labour Co-ordinating Committee has decided not to include Mr Benn, Mr Heffer or Mr Skinner on its slate of candidates and to put forward only five names for the seven seats elected by constituency parties. They are Mr Meacher, Mr Blunkett, Mr Jo Richardson, Mr Andrew Wilson and Mr Robin Cook.

Mr Paul Conway, the committee's secretary, says that Mr Benn has been excluded partly because it is assumed that he will win anyway and the committee wants to leave space for a black candidate or another woman who could be elected later.

But a second reason is that the group has had political differences with Mr Benn.

The dropping of Mr Skinner

and Mr Heffer seems to be more deliberate. The committee blames Mr Skinner, in particular, for many of the party's tactical and tactical errors on the national executive over the last few years. Mr Skinner saw it as his job to lay down the law.

The Campaign Group of Labour MPs, on the other hand, has decided to drop Mr Blunkett from its slate of candidates and to replace him with Mr Tam Dalyell.

He has become a hero on the left over his fight on the

Belgrano issue, but is more of a political maverick. It is being interpreted as an attempt to punish Mr Blunkett for his involvement with Mr Meacher and Mr Sawyer in the new voting bloc on the executive.

Two more influential slates are not known yet. Tribune and the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy.

Mr Conway said: "We think there is a lot of dead wood on the executive at the moment, mostly on the trade union section, and there ought to be some new blood."



KEEPING a watchful eye on Tower Bridge for the last time is Lieutenant-Commander Anthony Rabbitt. He raised the bridge for HMS Active, then retired after 15 years as master of the bridge, during which time, he and his wife Patricia lived in apartments on the structure. Before taking command of Tower Bridge, in the Pool of London, he was a submariner.

**'Driftwood' sale**

A ship's sextant dating from 1730 found on a Scottish beach as a seemingly worthless piece of driftwood is likely to fetch about £3,500 when auctioned at Sotheby's in London as part of a sale of navigational instruments next month.

## Bankers sue taxmen and police for £7m

The Inland Revenue and the police are being sued for almost £7 million by the tax avoidance specialists, Rossminster, who claim that four accountants and a former MP, whose offices and homes were raided by tax investigators in 1979.

The writ seeks £5 million damages for business suffered by Rossminster after the raids. It alleges that one week £3 million was withdrawn by investors.

The claim, which totals £7,500,000, is believed to be the first of its kind against the Inland Revenue.

Adstock, near Winslow, Buckinghamshire, was the firm's marketing director from 1971 until 1978. His home, the Old Rectory, was among those raided.

## Christian CND's new challenge

By Martyn Halsall, Churches Correspondent

THE Christian peace movement fears that a petition from residents around the Molesworth cruise missile base will be used against their campaign to stop the Church of England from selling land to the Ministry of Defence.

Against Molesworth Settlements, formed just before the evacuation of the peace camp in Cambridgehire by 3,000 troops and police in February, is calling for government and local authority action against the protesters.

This was the subject of an earlier petition published in early days before the eviction. Rams claims that 90 per cent of people living in three villages canvassed supported the Government's action. Its latest petition is believed to ask the same question of whether the 1.6 acre site bordering the base should be sold to any peace group.

Several groups, including the Christian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, tested the MoD bid when the news of the proposed sale became public.

Christian CND, which took the owners of the land, the Peterborough diocese, to the High Court in an attempt to frustrate the sale, fears the new petition could be used as evidence in a fresh transaction.

As part of the High Court settlement the diocese gave an undertaking not to sell the land without seeking public opinion.

Major "Wig" Scott, chairman of Rams yesterday declined to say how the petition was worded in advance of its circulation. "It is being put round because somebody doubted the word about whether we spoke for local feeling or not."

The Rev. George North, whose parish includes Molesworth, said yesterday there were no links between the Church and the new petition.

Christian CND's chairman, Mr Paul Johns, said if there were no links between the diocese and Rams, the Church should formally dissociate itself from the petition.

## Ban-the-bomb JP loses plea against her sacking

By Michael Morris

A Derbyshire woman magistrate struck off her panel for participating in a CND demonstration outside her own court has had her appeal for reinstatement rejected by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hailsham.

The shadow Home Secretary, Mr Gerald Kaufman, said yesterday that he was very concerned and was looking into the case of the magistrate, Mrs Kathleen Cripps, a CND member for two years.

Mrs Cripps, aged 49, demonstrated outside her court at Bakewell, in Derbyshire, last June in support of Mrs Margaret Roberts, a 73-year-old member of the CND, who was appearing before the magistrates over the non-payment of a fine for obstruction at Greenham Common.

Holding a placard, Say No to Illegal State Policy, she stood about dozen other CND members in the belief that she was within her rights "as an individual" in supporting her friend.

Mrs Cripps, an occupational therapy helper at Middlewood Hospital, Sheffield, said yesterday: "I was not aware then

and I am still not aware, that it is against the rules that govern being a magistrate. I thought it was my democratic right."

A spokesman for Lord Hailsham said Mrs Cripps had been removed from the list of JPs because of her "unwillingness" being a magistrate, not to take part in any form of demonstration outside the court.

Mrs Cripps, a member of the West Derbyshire Magistrates' bench since 1981, was told of the decision last Friday by letter.

She had written to the Lord Chancellor's office for evidence of complaints against her.

The Lord Chancellor's office had replied that there had been no formal complaints and the matter became known because of newspaper reports.

The letter emphasised that the evidence against her was the fact of her acceptance of being one of the demonstrators.

Finally, the deputy secretary of the Derbyshire Commission of the Peace, Mr W B Scott, informed Mrs Cripps last Friday that Lord Hailsham had seen her letter and had removed her name from the commission.

## Journalist's subterfuge at Greenham endorsed

By Gareth Parry

The Press Council has upheld the use of subterfuge by a woman reporter on the Daily Express, Sarah Bond, to write an "inside report" from the Greenham Common Peace Camp.

It rejected all but one of various complaints against the newspaper by four peace camp women who had complained that it was improper of Miss Bond, when asked, to deny that she was a journalist, to abuse the hospitality of the camp by obtaining food, and to behave in such a way as to bring the camp into disrepute.

The council said that it had consistently condemned the use of subterfuge by journalists except when it is used to obtain information which ought to be published in the public interest.

The adjudication says: "The council is satisfied that the use of subterfuge was justified in this case. The eviction of the protesters and the closing down of the Greenham Common Peace Camp was a matter of significant public interest."

There is in the Press Council's view no doubt that Miss Bond would have been unable to gain entry or write an inside story from that point of view had she disclosed that she was a journalist from the Daily Express.

**Puncture 'proof'**

A 537 touring cycle built from space-age material has come on to the market with the claim that the bulletproof kevlar fibre in its tyres guarantees it against punctures.

## Steam Diesel Electric

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The new, bigger Railway Magazine brings the whole world of railways alive

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# THREE OUT OF FOUR LONDONERS WANT A SINGLE ELECTED AUTHORITY FOR LONDON.



One month ago the Harris Opinion Poll showed clearly how Londoners felt their city should be run.

Three quarters believe London as a whole needs a democratically elected authority.

On the other hand, the Government seems to think that in some cases the 32 individual boroughs can take the place of a single body.

Most Londoners know that a city as large and as complex as London needs one authority to co-ordinate many of its services.

In other cases they seem to think that Joint Committees and Government controlled Quangos will know what's best for the people.

That cannot be right when they're not directly elected by Londoners.

The fact is, no matter what anybody thinks of the way the GLC runs London, Londoners still want a single elected authority to perform the same function.

The Government still has time to listen to what the people are saying. We think they should.

\*SOURCE: HARRIS OPINION POLL APRIL 1985 FOR THAMES NEWS (THAMES TV).



Stephen Cook on the main proposals in the public order white paper. Malcolm Dean explains new ground broken in civil judgments last year

# Ministers seek tougher police powers to combat pickets

NEW powers for the police to control the size, location, and length of demonstrations such as pickets are among the main proposals in the Government's long-awaited white paper on public order, published yesterday.

But the document rejects proposals to extend to static demonstrations the power to impose bans on marches or processions. Any conditions imposed by the police would be subject to review in the courts. The 1936 Public Order Act allows police to place conditions on marches.

The white paper proposes to extend the grounds on which police seek to ban or impose conditions on marches.

At the moment the only grounds are fear of serious public disorder, but the white paper says that serious disruption to traffic and hoppers and the threat of coercion should be included.

New penalties would be created for deliberately failing to comply with conditions, which could be set in advance or by the police officer in charge on the spot.

People who organised or incited non-compliance would risk three months in prison and a fine of £1,000, while participants would risk a £400 fine.

Ancient common law offences concerning public order would be replaced by statutory offences of riot, violent disorder, and affray. An enlargement of the offence of using threatening, abusive or insulting words and behaviour is put forward.

The public order provision on race would be tightened by outlawing conduct likely to stir up racial hatred. On racialist literature, possession with a view to distribution would be added to the offence of distribution.

Above the white paper hover the ghosts of the main public order problems of the past 10 years — Grunwick, National Front marches, South Wales miners' strike, Stop the City demonstrations, football hooliganism, and protests about nuclear weapons and animal rights.

All are mentioned in the 30-page text.

Violence during the miners' strike prompted the Prime Minister to order ur-

gent completion late last year of the review of public order, which started in 1979 and was repeatedly extended to take in new events.

The white paper says: "The rights of peaceful protest and assembly are among our fundamental freedoms; they are numbered among the touchstones which distinguish a free society from a totalitarian one. Throughout the review the Government has been concerned to regulate these freedoms to the minimum extent necessary to preserve order and protect the rights of others."

"For these freedoms, although fundamental, are not one-sided: the European Convention on Human Rights, in the article guaranteeing the right to freedom of peaceful assembly, recognises that it may need to be restricted by law for the protection of order and for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others."

"It is worth remembering, 50 years after the passage of the Public Order Act 1936, why that act was considered necessary: because the right to demonstrate had been turned by the fascist marchers into an instrument of intimidation and provocation."

"They have their counterparts today in those whose real aim in demonstrating is to persuade others of their point of view, but to prevent them by force from doing what they have a lawful right to do, or simply to foment disorder."

The document says that the vast majority of demonstrations pass off without problems because those con-

**POLICE** linking arms to hold back pickets as a coachload of workers arrive at the Grunwick film processing laboratories, north London, in June 1977. The dispute, which started when a worker was dismissed, developed into a long struggle for union recognition. It was one of the issues forming the backdrop against which the Government set up its review of public order in 1979. Yesterday's blueprint for changes was the result.

cerned recognise they have responsibilities as well as rights.

"The Government has been concerned that any changes in the law should enhance the development of a responsible approach by the organisers of events, and should encourage them at an early stage to seek an understanding with the police on the ground rules of how the event will be run."

"The Government's objective has been to fill the genuine gaps in the law in a way which provides the police with the necessary powers without infringing civil liberties and without creating obligations and expectations of the police which they cannot meet."

Public order offences



would rank from riot throughout violent disorder and affray down to an amended section 5 of the Public Order Act on threatening words and behaviour.

The White Paper asks for suggestions about a further offence to deal with minor hooliganism, and says that the lesser offences should be available as alternative verdicts to the more serious charges.

A charge of riot would be used against somebody who used violence in circumstances where 12 or more persons were using or threatening violence to people or property for some common purpose.

The Director of Public Prosecutions would have to approve proceedings and the

maximum penalty would be 10 years in prison and a fine.

A person would only have to threaten violence likely to cause fear, and the assembly would have to be three or more people, to be charged with violent disorder.

This is envisaged as the main successor to the common law charge of unlawful assembly, and would be the normal charge for serious outbreaks of disorder. The maximum penalty would be five years and a fine.

Affray would involve two or more people with a maximum penalty of three years and a fine. The offence of threatening words and behaviour would apply to private as well as public places, but not to private houses —

some striking miners escaped charges because they were on National Coal Board property.

On marches, the white paper says that there should be a national requirement of seven days' advance notice to the police.

Customary religious and ceremonial occasions are exempted, and allowance would be made for marches responding to unforeseen events. Failure to give notice would involve a £400 fine.

The law would be amended to allow single specific marches to be banned as well as all marches or types of marches. Taking part in a banned march would lead to a £400 fine.

Police would be able to impose conditions on marches

not only because they feared serious disorder, as at present, but also because traffic and shoppers would be disrupted or coercion of people was threatened.

"This is a libertarian safeguard, designed to prevent demonstrations, whose overt purpose is to persuade, from being used as a cloak by those whose real purpose is to intimidate or coerce," says the paper.

Sometimes, however, their purpose is not even concealed: their literature proclaims their intention as being 'stop' or 'smash' their opponents."

Some of the most serious public disorder has been on static demonstrations, in the miners' strike, for example, it says.

But the Government has decided against a banning power or a requirement of advance notice. "Meetings and assemblies are a more important means of exercising freedom of speech than are marches," it says, especially at elections.

But it proposes powers for the police, both in advance and on the scene, to impose conditions, including the location, numbers and length of a demonstration, if they fear serious disorder, disruption of the community or coercion.

"The power might also prove useful in relation to picketing which has resulted in outbreaks of serious public disorder: at Grunwick or Warrington [Mr. Eddie Shah's printing works], for example, the police could have imposed conditions limiting the number of demonstrators or moving the demonstration in support of the pickets further away from the factory."

An obvious example of coercion is picketing, it says. "Where pickets deliberately try to obstruct the passage of those going to work, as they did at Grunwick and during the miners' dispute, the police should be able to limit their numbers or move them away from the path of the workers."

"The right of peaceful picketing will not in any way be infringed. Pickets whose purpose is peacefully to persuade or to communicate information will have nothing to fear from the new controls, because their picketing will not breach any of the three tests."

"Watching and besetting," an 1875 offence used in the miners' dispute, would be retained with a new power of arrest and penalties increased to six months in prison or a fine of £2,000.

The Government has decided against a requirement that organisers of marches should pay for policing costs.

However, it puts forward the possibility that a police authority could take civil action to recover the costs of a demonstration where police conditions had been breached. It intends to introduce legislation, as in Scotland, to restrict alcohol sales at or on the way to football matches.

Scotland would have the same new police powers as England and Wales to supplement those of councils. A 1982 law involved Scottish regional councils in regulating marches.

## Two court decisions on miners change the law for strikers

TWO interpretations of the law which the courts made last year during the miners' strike are almost as far-reaching as the changes outlined in the public order white paper.

The first was a decision which upheld the action of the police in turning back miners travelling by car to picket a Nottinghamshire colliery.

Pickets were stopped as they turned off the M1. Until the miners' strike the police had not stopped and turned back demonstrators, with the exception of a National Front march outside Wakefield.

The colliery to which the pickets were going had seen several days of violence involving several hundred flying pickets and police. The police justified their action on the grounds that there was a real and imminent threat to the peace.

One reason could be that judge-made law is less restrictive than statute law. It gives the courts more discretion to make further developments.

Government an opportunity to introduce a statutory power to stop and turn back pickets. Significantly, it has decided instead to let the Nottinghamshire ruling stand.

This opens the door to people who are being harassed by pickets to take out an injunction against pickets or demonstrators in the civil courts. The white paper is concerned only with criminal law.

The reason the civil law is important is that police may on occasions choose to ignore

harassment, particularly if large numbers are involved. The Scott judgment opens the way for individuals to go to court where the police have declined.

Unlike the miners' dispute, most lawyers believed picketing was permissible so long as the pickets did not prevent workers from getting to work. But the 100-year-old Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act was resurrected by the police to prosecute miners for intimidation and besetting.

Academic lawyers had suggested the act should be repealed because it had been used so little. The miners'

strike changed that. The act was widely used.

Mr Justice Scott extended the principle of the act into the civil law. He ruled that Mr Thomas, a working South Wales miner, should not have to resort to travelling in a bus to avoid the abuse being "hurled" by the pickets. The calls included "scab bastards," "kill the scabs," "you're dead." He ruled the abuse as coercive and intimidatory and made it a civil wrong.

The new power in the white paper to allow the police to impose conditions on demonstrators reflects Mr Justice Scott's thinking.

Defending the latest round of British Rail Engineering redundancies announced yesterday, Mr Mitchell insisted the job losses were inevitable following investment in new rolling stock which needed less maintenance.

The cutbacks at workshops at Glasgow, Doncaster and Eastleigh and the total closure of the Swindon works would be "a hard blow" to local communities, he conceded.

Replying to Swindon's Tory MP, Mr Simon Coombs — whose constituency faces more than 2,200 job losses — he agreed to arise the possibility of a wholesale private sector sell-off of the Swindon plant with BR chairman, Mr Bob Rees, as chairman.

The Shadow Transport Secretary, Mrs Gwyneth Dunwoody, called the job cuts "a disgrace." She condemned Mr Mitchell for failing to win foreign orders for the BREL workshops and called for assurances that orders for new British Rail locomotives would not go abroad.

In a statement on the latest BREL job losses, Mr Mitchell said BR workload forecasts showed the need for 1,300 more redundancies

## THE DAY IN POLITICS

# Brittan proposals will mean police have to make political decisions—Labour



Mr Kaufman—strong critic

### PUBLIC ORDER

By our Political Staff  
THE Home Secretary unveiled his package of public order law reforms to the Commons yesterday amid angry Labour claims that the proposal would turn the police into "unwilling agents of government industrial and political policy."

But to a universal chorus of Tory support, Mr Leon Brittan hailed his long-awaited white paper as a moderate set of safeguards against mob violence and mass disruption. "No one who wishes to criticise the Government, or even the Opposition, however strongly, has anything to fear from this," he said. The plans were aimed at "those who turn disagreement into turmoil and democracy into the mob."

Mr Gerald Kaufman, the Shadow Home Secretary, claimed that the Government was intending to create a criminal law on picketing which would place the police in an intolerable position of having to take political decisions.

Mr Kaufman said that the white paper contained two welcome proposals as well as two wrong decisions, one of which was "particularly dangerous."

He welcomed the proposals to bring relief to people on housing estates who were

threatened by loots and hooligans and the intention to tighten up the law on incitement to racial hatred.

But he regretted that the recommendations from the Commission for Racial Equality, the TUC and the British Board of Deputies of Jews to create powers to ban a march on grounds that it will incite racial hatred had not been included.

Mr Kaufman also attacked the proposal that organisations had to give seven days' notice for a march.

The Home Affairs Select Committee had recommended a 72-hour minimum notice period and in Scotland the law said that notice had to be given to a local authority.

Mr Kaufman said the Opposition fears that the police would be forced into taking political decisions about the nature of a march and what should be allowed.

He also criticised the creation of powers for the police to control the route and venue of demonstrations. He cited the example of a demonstration about the closure of railway workshops in Swindon where the most appropriate place for the demonstration would be outside the workshops.

But the new power would mean the police could change that and move the demonstration.

Mr Kaufman complained that the police were being forced by the Government

into a particular role not of their own choosing.

On picketing the Shadow Home Secretary claimed that assurances given by Mr James Prior, when he was Employment Secretary on the introduction of the 1980 Employment Act, had been abandoned.

He quoted Mr Prior as saying that picketing had absolutely nothing to do with the criminal law and that the police were not in any way to be involved in picketing.

Mr Kaufman went on: "The Government is intending to create a criminal law on picketing which will place the police in an intolerable position of taking political decisions on such occasions. It will erode their independence and turn them into the reluctant agents of this Government's policies."

He said the white paper would continue the process of making the police the scapegoat for the failure of the Government's own employment laws.

Responding, the Home Secretary said that on picketing there was no specific demonstration were singled out, the case for general controls had been proved.

"Anyone who witnessed the scenes we saw over the year of the miners' strike would regard it as irresponsible to take any view other than that."

Mr Brittan said that crimi-

nal offences had been committed almost daily on the picket line and demands that the civil and criminal law should not be linked bore no relation to what had happened on the ground.

"Anyone interested in industrial relations being conducted in a peaceful way should wholeheartedly welcome these proposals. Those interested in peaceful picketing have nothing whatever to fear from these proposals."

Mr Mervyn Rees the former Labour Home Secretary, called for a special select committee to set up to examine the white paper proposals. It was necessary to consider all the lessons of the miners' strike and to allow chief constables, the police, miners and others to come before it to put their views, before legislation went ahead.

The Home Secretary said that a select committee had already examined proposals previously published in a green paper on public order and there had been sufficient discussion.

Sir Edward Gardner, QC, (C. Fyde) chairman of the home affairs Select Committee, welcomed the white paper and said that for too long juries had been asked to interpret ancient laws relating to riot and unlawful assembly.

Mr Ivan Lawrence (C. Burton-on-Trent) said the new

proposals would mean that the police would have the power to move on such a demonstration as that which took place outside the Libyan Peoples' Bureau last year.

Mr Robert Maclean (SDP Caithness and Sutherland) was surprised that the white paper had been published before the Association of Chief Police Officers had finished its studies into the operational lessons of the miners' strike.

He welcomed the new powers on rights of assembly and in general terms the codification of the common law as recommended by the Law Commission.

Mr Harriet Harman (Lab. Peckham) warned that the proposals would give the police the power to suppress dissent against the Government.

She claimed that the participants in a peaceful demonstration could be charged with criminal offences if the march deviated from the route laid down by the police. Most marches were peaceful and if somebody hit somebody else on a march then the existing law was entirely adequate.

Mr Brittan denied that his proposals would suppress dissent. He said that the seven days' notice for marches would ensure that people could protest in an orderly way without disrupting fellow citizens.

## BR will try to find redundant workers new jobs—minister

### BRITISH RAIL

British Rail will take all possible steps to find new jobs for the 4,800 engineering workers due to be made redundant by March 1987, the Junior Transport Minister, Mr David Mitchell, pledged in the Commons yesterday.

Defending the latest round of British Rail Engineering redundancies announced yesterday, Mr Mitchell insisted the job losses were inevitable following investment in new rolling stock which needed less maintenance.

The cutbacks at workshops at Glasgow, Doncaster and Eastleigh and the total closure of the Swindon works would be "a hard blow" to local communities, he conceded.

Replying to Swindon's Tory MP, Mr Simon Coombs — whose constituency faces more than 2,200 job losses — he agreed to arise the possibility of a wholesale private sector sell-off of the Swindon plant with BR chairman, Mr Bob Rees, as chairman.

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In a statement on the latest BREL job losses, Mr Mitchell said BR workload forecasts showed the need for 1,300 more redundancies



Mr Coombs—jobs blow

than last year's estimates had suggested.

"The demand for railway repair and maintenance has declined because of BR's decision to invest in new rolling stock," he said. New locomotives were able to operate the same services with fewer units and major rolling stock refurbishment, including the removal of asbestos from older vehicles, was now nearing completion.

Confirming details of the cuts Mr Mitchell told MPs that the proposals could be re-examined fully in consultation with employees.

He pledged: "British Rail and BREL will do all that they can to find alternative work for redundant employees by offering opportunities to transfer to other works and by encouraging business development at both Swindon and Glasgow."

### EMPLOYMENT LAW

## Unfair dismissal rethink

SACKED employees will have to have worked for their employers for at least two years, instead of the current 12 months, before they can apply to an industrial tribunal for unfair dismissal under a government Order approved by the Commons early yesterday.

During the debate Mr John Evans an Opposition employment spokesman pledged that Labour would introduce a new Employment Protection Act when it came to power.

He said that the Government had come up with a "brand-new concept" in its search for someone to blame for the appalling level of unemployment.

"It seems that employers can only be persuaded to employ more people if first, they were free to sack them," he said. The law was insulting to employers and an affront to British workers.

Mr Evans said that two years was more than enough time for an employer to discover whether someone was suitable for a job.

Mr Peter Bottomley, Employment Minister of State, said the change was necessary to standardise employment protection laws. It only applied to unfair dismissal claims and did not cover dismissals resulting from dismissals for trade union membership, race or sex discrimination for which there was no time limit.

Mr Bottomley claimed the

change would result in more jobs being created as employers would be more willing to take on staff without fear of being taken to an industrial tribunal.

### FALKLANDS ROW

## Thatcher apology

THE Prime Minister yesterday apologised to Mr George Foulkes, a Labour foreign affairs spokesman, for attacking him on Tuesday over his reported comments about the slavery of the Falkland Islanders.

The contentious comments were later learned to have been misreported. He had been misquoted as saying the mothers of disappeared people in Argentina had more guts than

the Falkland Islanders. This had provoked a reply from Mrs Thatcher that his words were "deeply wounding."

Yesterday's apology by the Prime Minister came amid some confusion. When Mr Foulkes asked for the apology from Mrs Thatcher she at first replied "I am withdrawing my remarks" but also withdrew.

This produced shouts of "No, no," from the Labour benches, many of whom accused her of not withdrawing her remarks.

Mr Stephen Ross (L. Isle of Wight), who went on the Falklands trip with Mr Foulkes, said: "I can confirm everything he said to the House was correct. If a statement was made there on Tuesday impugning his conversations, then they are wrong and they want to be withdrawn."

Mrs Thatcher replied: "I thought I had withdrawn them — then I do withdraw them and of course I apologise."

### Next week

THE anti-Common Market MP Sir Teddy Taylor (C. Southend E.) will be urging the Government to remove the zero rating on farms with a bill in the Commons next Tuesday.

The Liberal MP, Mr Geraint Howells (Ceredigion & Pembroke N.), will oppose the measure so that the Liberals can rebut the Tory charge made at election time that they want to remove the long-standing rates exemption from farmers.

It is therefore likely that Mr Taylor's otherwise innocuous private member's bill will gain publicity by its inclusion in propaganda leaflets issued by the Liberals.

The Government decision to apply a three-line whip to its motion supporting the Audit report on Sunday trading will not stop a group of Tories voting against the Government on Monday.

The Labour Party has tabled its own motion, neatly getting itself out of difficulties with the Church and the shopworkers' union. Labour MPs will be asked to vote for this but will be given a free vote on the main question.

Liberals and Social Democrats are also allowing a free vote, but their chief whips are on opposing sides. The SDPs, Mr John Cartwright, supports Sunday trading but Mr Alan Beith opposes it on religious grounds.

Before rising for the Whitsun recess, the Lords will have a daily diet of the Local Government Bill which abolishes the Greater London Council and six other authorities starting on Monday with the funding of voluntary bodies.

It will be broken briefly on Wednesday when the Bishop of Manchester is introduced to the Upper House. Mrs Thatcher will be interested to see which wing of the Church army he is on.

## Bus plans face rough ride from Tory rebels

### TRANSPORT BILL

By our Political Reporter  
The Transport Secretary, Mr Nicholas Ridley, faces a "heavy rebellion" over proposals for regulating bus services on the report stage of the Transport Bill in the Commons next week.

Mr Peter Fry (C. Wellingborough) is proposing to offer local authorities the option of putting bus routes out to tender rather than to

allow the market to have free rein on the roads.

The Liberals, who have tabled the first five clauses for and Wednesday, are pressing for a slightly tougher line by insisting that tendering should be carried out before the break-up of the route.

Although it is unlikely that the Government will be decisive on the Commons — despite considerable Tory concern about the future of rural transport — ministers fear more trouble with the bill goes to the Lords.



Germans threatened to veto single package for all food

## Cost-cutting plan for EEC farm prices abandoned

From Derek Brown, Brussels

The EEC's strategic aim of effective farm costs was in danger of disintegration last night.

Nine of the 10 agriculture ministers were in full retreat from the cost cutting measures, after 24 hours of hard bargaining on a farm price package for the coming year.

West Germany, whose opposition to cereal price cuts has dominated the two-month negotiations, forced the other countries to deal with the grain sector separately. Ministers, who had argued fiercely that all prices should be linked in a single package, finally gave way after Mr Ignaz Kischke threatened to veto on any such agreement.

No one dared to call the German bluff, and last night ministers were compelled to omit the cereal grain sector from their price proposals.

Whatever the eventual outcome, the overall cost of the Common Agricultural Policy, running at about £12 billion, now seems doomed to rise significantly this year. The CAP already soaks up more than two thirds of all available cash.

Farm subsidies are also the cause of growing tension between the EEC and its trading partners, especially the US. For a year or more, Brussels has been signalling its resolve

to cut farm costs, including the much resented subsidies on exports of Community surpluses. As that resolve dwindles in the face of national deterioration to protect farming interests, fears of an agricultural trade war are bound to be reinforced.

The failure to rein in the CAP is a bitter blow for the EEC Commission, which had aimed for an effective freeze on farm prices this year. But the key to success was agreement on a 3.6 per cent cut in guaranteed prices paid to cereal farmers, whose output last year exceeded demand by 15 million tonnes.

German cereal farmers would have been especially hard hit by such a cut. Bonn had by last night whittled down the proposal to less than two per cent — and was still demanding compensating measures which could wipe out the cost-saving effect altogether.

Last night, the Farm Commissioner, Mr Frans Andriessen, said that any further trimming of the Commission's proposals "would pass the limits of what is reasonable and desirable".

The Commission, he added, could not dilute its own proposals in a way that would undermine important reforms decided by the ministers themselves. Mr Michael Jopling had argued unsuccessfully for a tightly controlled price package, to include cereals.

## Carrington cautions against tampering with atom defence

By David Fairhall, Defence Correspondent

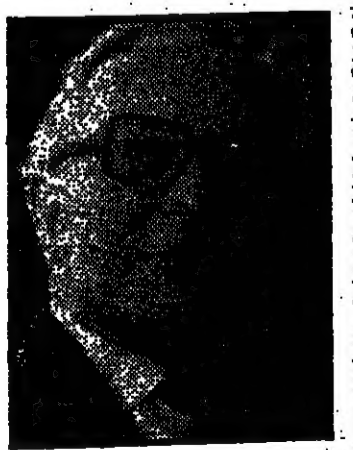
The Secretary-General of Nato, Lord Carrington, warned yesterday against dismantling the present structure of nuclear deterrence until alternatives, such as President Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative, or improved conventional forces, in Europe, had proved their worth.

"We must be careful not to count our strategic chickens before they are hatched," he told the Royal United Services Institute in London, "and to maintain the political and technical underpinnings of our present strategy until we know we have something better to put in its place."

Lord Carrington made it clear that he did not assume that research into Star Wars would lead automatically to its deployment, and it was important to make sure, he suggested, that the Soviet negotiators at the Geneva arms talks also understood this.

Any attempt by the Russians to link reductions in offensive nuclear weapons to a prohibition of American strategic defence research, should be met with a firm No, he said. Nor should the Soviet negotiators be allowed to argue that they could not afford to agree lower levels of offensive weapons in case its effectiveness should later be lessened by US defences.

Lord Carrington said that



Lord Carrington: Don't count strategic chickens

President Reagan had promised to talk to the Kremlin about the implications of Star Wars before going ahead with its deployment. He quoted Mr Reagan's Strasbourg speech, in which the President confirmed that "when the time for decisions on the possible production and deployment of such systems comes, we must and will discuss and negotiate these issues with the Soviet Union."

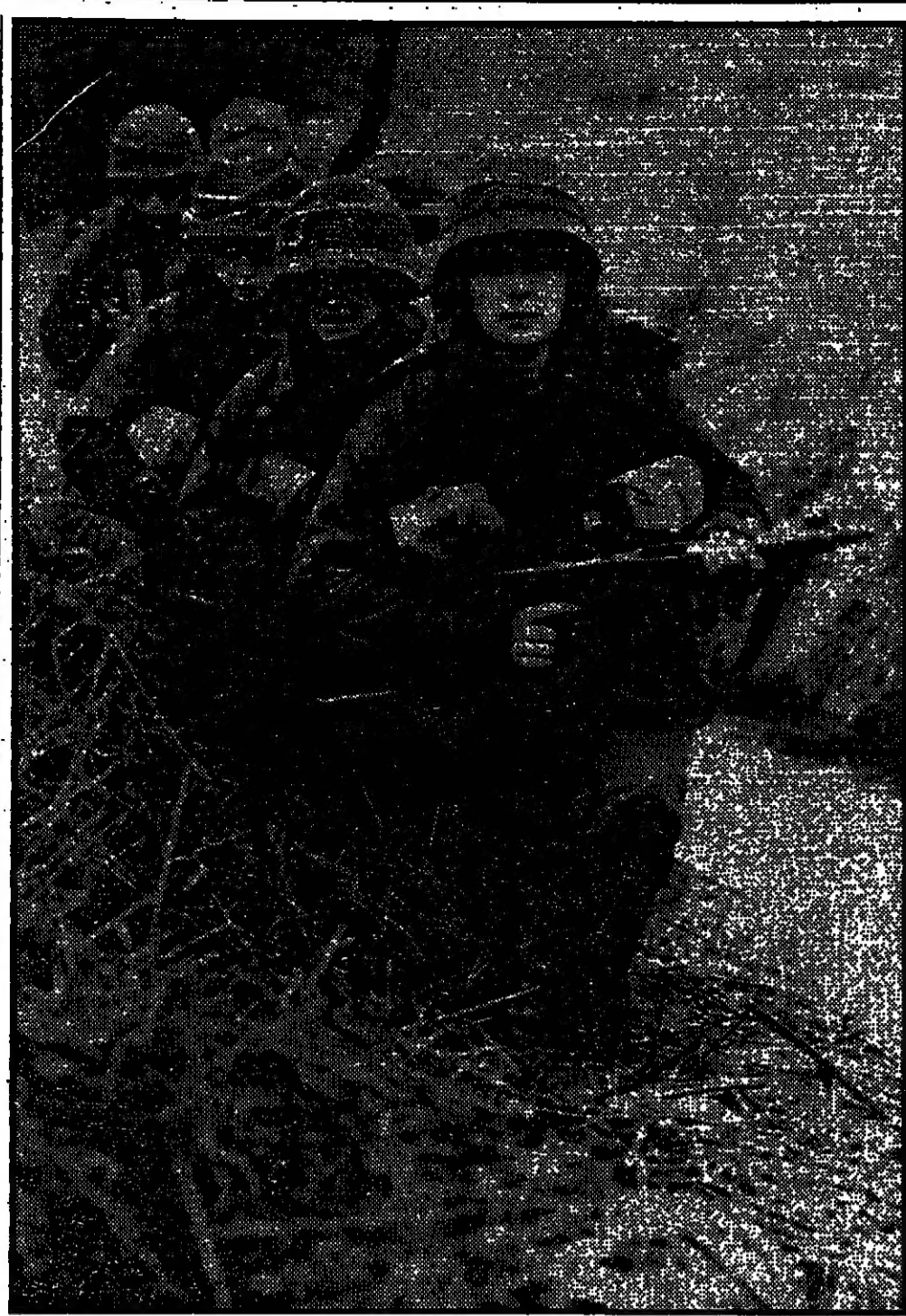
Turning to Nato's existing strategy, the secretary-general distinguished between Nato's readiness to deter a Soviet nuclear strike by the threat of retaliation, and the more difficult problems of nuclear black-mail or responding to the prospect of defeat by conventional non-nuclear means — which would now include the possible first use by Nato of nuclear weapons.

The value of Nato's present strategy, he suggested, was that it complicated the calculations of a would-be aggressor, who could never be sure whether the benefits of aggression would outweigh the potential costs.

At the same time, Lord Carrington said he strongly supported efforts to strengthen Nato's non-nuclear defences to avoid drifting into too heavy a dependence on nuclear weapons. At next week's meeting of allied defence ministers in Brussels, he would be presenting the initial results of a new effort to improve the efficiency of the conventional defence effort and a new "conceptual military framework" prepared by the major commanders.

Anna Tomforde adds from Bonn: The Social Democratic opposition leader, Mr Hans-Jochen Vogel, and the East German President, Mr Erich Honecker, condemned America's "Star War" plans, at a meeting in East Berlin yesterday, and pledged to develop intra-German relations despite superpower tension.

Mr Vogel told journalists afterwards that Mr Honecker had stressed that the development of the "essential" on Soviet-American relations. The arms race and the militarisation of space were seen by the two men as increasing the risk of nuclear catastrophe.



Danish women soldiers on patrol

## Denmark, the divided ally at the Baltic gates

Dilemma of a small state in a strategic position

From Simon Tisdall in Copenhagen

ON THE island of Tasinge, at Landet, in Denmark's southern archipelago, stands a pretty, Romanesque church. In its well-tended graveyard lie the lovers, Elvira Madigan and Sixten Sparre, side by side.

A few days after the anniversary of Denmark's liberation by Montgomery's troops, a yet more poignant memorial awaited the visitor to Landet: the graves of two RAF men, shot down in February, 1944. They, too, lie side by side, the victims of a less avoidable tragedy. Between them someone had placed a wreath trailing the white, red, and blue ribbon of the Danish Resistance.

If Danes agree on anything, 40 years later, it is the justice of that struggle. But today questions of defence and security policy are the subject of contentious political debate. The old certainties seem to have been lost in a hotch-potch of fatalistic attitudes, ambivalence, and wishful thinking.

Denmark's Nato allies, irritated by the country's self-contradiction, should look again — for nothing has really changed. As always, Denmark occupies a strategic position at the entrance to the Baltic, but with a small population and limited resources, remains incapable of effective self-defence.

Denmark seeks to influence those who guarantee and those who threaten its security, while lacking the power to insist.

Denmark offers resistance as before, but in the end relies uncomfortably on allied troops and aiers to whom it may give valiant support, bases, and equipment, but more likely a place like Landet in which to die.

After a mobilisation, under Nato plans, a joint Danish and West Germany force of 300,000 troops, 700 tanks, 250 combat aircraft, and 250 ships and submarines would be deployed at Denmark's coveted end of the Baltic. In addition, air and ground reinforcements from Britain and the US are designated for this area.

According to a senior Danish commander, the defence of Denmark would begin, not on the shores of Zealand or in the Danish Straits, but in and above the sluggish waters of the Baltic.

The Baltic "is never been meant to be a Warsaw Pact sanctuary", and one objective, for example, would be to ensure that the 200-strong fleet of Warsaw Pact minesweepers did not succeed in their task of clearing a path to the North Atlantic.

The military solutions to Denmark's defensive dilemma fail to reassure for two reasons. One is that a resort to nuclear

weapons, "at some stage — earlier than anybody would want" cannot be excluded. The second reason is that mobilisation, mining, deployment, and transfer of authority depend on timely political decisions. In Denmark, as elsewhere, the military may find difficulty in convincing politicians that their world is about to fall in.

In Copenhagen, the debate about nuclear weapons rages particularly fiercely. Denmark, like Norway, does not allow them on its soil. In the Folketing in May 3, last year, now a celebrated landmark in some quarters, a majority "enjoined" the conservative-led Government to keep nuclear weapons out of the country in time of crisis and war, as well as in peacetime.

For Mr Lasse Budtz, the parliamentary spokesman for the Social Democrats, who, with other opposition parties, command a majority on defence policy, such agitation is not incompatible with Nato membership, although, admittedly, it does not sit well with Nato's doctrine of flexible response. "We are members of Nato and we want to stay that way," Mr Budtz said. "The twin-track decision has harmed security more than it has helped. From a military point of view, there is no doubt that it was not necessary, because the possibilities were already covered by other defensive systems."

While some, like the Social Democrats, seek to exert influence on global power-play from within, other parties, like the Socialist People's Party and the Left Socialists, oppose outright Denmark's membership of Nato. Some Danes, discouraged by the continuing failure of arms control talks, clearly favour the Russian-language "We surrender" tape-recording approach. The minority Government, although embarrassed by the breakdown in defence policy agreement, has put its economic programme first.

In such a climate, Denmark's difficulties with Nato's nuclear planning and flexible response seems unlikely to be resolved quickly.

In some areas, of course, the defence consensus persists. Most people want to remain in Nato. The defence budget, 2 per cent of GNP and lower than some allies would wish, is not the subject of controversy.

President Reagan's Star Wars programme has seemingly achieved the impossible, uniting the country in opposition to it.

But the real consensus, the only certainty — one that has not altered since February, 1944 — is that, in the end, Denmark relies on others: on their willingness to fight, side by side, and ultimately, on their readiness to risk a grave in a place like Landet.

## British ship snubbed

ATHENS: Greece has refused refuelling facilities to a British merchant ship on auxiliary duty for the Royal Navy and Nato sources said yesterday that it was an unprecedented snub of one Nato member by another.

They said that the ship, the Green Rover, had asked at the beginning of the week to refuel at Souda Bay, Crete, where the Greeks and US forces have facilities, while it was taking part in the Nato exercise Distant Hammer. Greece refused the request and the ship had to go to the Turkish port of Izmir.

Greece boycotted the exercise because of differences with Turkey, another Nato member, concerning sovereignty over parts of the Aegean Sea.

The sources said the allied naval command in Naples was inquiring into the circumstances of the refusal. They said the incident may have arisen after a disagreement between Athens and London about whether a merchant ship on loan to the Royal Navy should be considered a naval vessel.

Greek officials have said in the past that when Greece does not take part in a Nato exercise, no part of its land, air, or sea space may be used.

Greek defence officials declined comment on the details of the incident, but they said that Athens had made clear in the past that it would provide no facilities to Nato manoeuvres that it boycotted and that included refuelling.

Britain, the US, and Turkey are taking part in the Distant Hammer air and sea manoeuvres, mainly in the northern Aegean, between May 6 and 17, as part of the big Mediterranean exercise, Deterrent Force.

The Greek Foreign Under-Secretary, Mr Yannis Kapsis, said that the exercise particularly annoyed Athens because part of it was being directed by a Turkish naval commander in an area of the northern Aegean where, under Nato rules, a Greek commander should be directing operations. — Reuters.

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## Alcoholics facing big fines

MOSCOW: The Soviet Union yesterday announced a package of strong measures to combat the country's high rate of alcoholism.

The long awaited package, which many Russians had expected to include rationing, comprises a cut in the production of spirits, a ban on certain drinks, and stiff penalties for home brewing, drinking on the streets, and other measures.

The Kremlin decided to fight alcoholism, the Soviet Union's biggest social ill, soon after Mr Mikhail Gorbachev took over the Party leadership in March. The measures, summarised by the official news agency Tass, will become law after they are put to the national legislature, the Supreme Soviet, next month.

Tass said that the package, approved by the party Central Committee yesterday, would eradicate a still widely held view that "the abuse of alcohol is quite often regarded as immoral, anti-social conduct".

As well as imposing restrictions and fines for alcohol abuse the package envisages an effort to "use more effectively" sports clubs, youth clubs, and palaces of culture.

Tass said that the measures included:

A cut in production of strong alcoholic drink with a parallel increase in soft drink from 1988.

A ban on production of all alcoholic beverages "based on fruit and berry juices" by 1988. It was not clear

whether this included wine, champagne, and cognac, all produced in quantity in the southern Soviet Union.

"Considerable fines" for drinking in the streets, stadiums, parks, or appearing drunk in public.

£100 fine or loss of licence for up to three years for a first drunk driving offence.

"Particularly tough measures" for encouraging minors to drink, including leaving camp terms for making a minor drunk.

A ban on sales of drink to anyone under 21. The current limit is 18.

Hungarians are among the hardest drinkers in the world and three per cent of them are alcoholics, daily, Nepszabadsag said yesterday. — Reuters.



Afghan and Khmer rebels  
to benefit from US assistance

## Senate votes to give \$14.9bn in foreign aid

From Mark Tran  
in Washington

The Senate has passed a foreign aid bill for the first time since 1981. The \$14.9 billion Foreign Aid Authorisation Bill contains \$5 billion in aid for the non-communist resistance in Kampuchea and \$15 million in humanitarian aid to the rebels in Afghanistan.

There are still several hurdles to clear before Congress comes up with a foreign aid package. The authorisation process lays down a working figure which then has to be appropriated in another floor vote.

In past years, Congress has failed to come up with any foreign aid bill because of its "Christmas tree" approach.

SEVEN leading Afghan resistance parties covering a wide political spectrum yesterday formed a united front in Peshawar, Pakistan, to coordinate strategies in their five-year war against the Soviet-backed government in Kabul. The Islamic Alliance of Afghan Mujahideen brings together parties from two earlier competing coalitions. A decision on a government-in-exile is awaited. — Reuters.

By trying to attach so many amendments to the legislation, the process ground to a halt. The Administration has been content to keep things ticking over with a continuing resolution which increases the previous year's foreign aid by a fixed percentage.

This year, the new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr Richard Lugar, persuaded his colleagues to refrain from tacking on controversial amendments mostly involving aid to the Nicaraguan rebels.

Other rebels fared better, however. The Senate adopted an amendment from Senator Frank Murkowski, calling for \$5 million to be furnished to

the non-Communist rebels in Kampuchea—provided the Association of South East Asian Nations acknowledge publicly that it is also providing aid. On Tuesday, the Senate approved \$15 million in humanitarian aid to rebels in Afghanistan.

Mr Murkowski said that the money could be used for military or humanitarian aid. He added this provision because "we got far out in front in Indochina in the 1970s... Why should be the US be asked to do what ASEAN is reluctant to do openly?" An ASEAN diplomat in Washington said that the organisation could agree to that provided it was not spelled out which Asian country was giving what to the rebels.

It is widely known that Singapore, at least, has been sending aid to the non-Communist forces led by Prince Sihanouk and Son Sann. They also receive arms from China.

The original proposal for aid to the non-Communist Kampuchean came from the Chairman of the House subcommittee on Asian and Pacific affairs, Mr Stephen Solarz. It has passed the House foreign affairs committee stage, but risks getting lost in between the cracks because the House foreign aid bill is bogged down.

Negotiations are continuing because present figures exceed the House's desire to freeze the total aid level. That was breached, however, by decisions to increase aid figures to Israel and Egypt and cuts are being sought elsewhere.

In the Senate authorisation bill, members also approved a non-binding resolution which said that aid to the Philippines should be granted in future only on conditions that the Marcos Government made sufficient progress towards free elections.

In the Senate foreign aid bill, \$6.3 billion is in military assistance.

## Soviet aircraft lost, say Japanese

From Robert Whyman  
in Tokyo

A Soviet aircraft went missing over waters near the Soviet maritime provinces yesterday, according to Japanese authorities.

Mr Takeo Fujikami, the chief government spokesman, said that a Soviet plane went missing after 8 am off the Soviet Union maritime provinces, but did not know whether or not the aircraft had crashed.

It was not known whether the plane was a civil or a military aircraft. Earlier, Mr Shingji Yasuda, the director of the defence agency's Defence Policy Bureau, said that the Soviet aircraft had disappeared from Japanese radar in an area outside Japan's air defence identification zone.

While details about the location of the missing plane were vague, the news reminded people here of the first report of the disappearance of a Korean Airlines plane which was brought down by Soviet fighters off the Soviet island of Sakhalin on September 1, 1983.

That incident proved the credibility of Japan's intelligence capabilities when it was later learned that the self-defence forces had had precise data that included the Soviet fighter which fired the missiles and ground control.

The defence agency was reluctant to disclose too many details about Thursday's missing plane, analysts said, and would not specify where it had obtained the information. Possible sources were army intelligence or the signals interception unit of the Cabinet Investigation Office.

In Moscow, civil aviation spokesmen would not comment yesterday on reports of the missing aircraft.

Officials of the Civil Aviation Ministry and the state airline Aeroflot said they had no information.

In Washington, officials said the US was not involved in any search for the missing airliner. The White House spokesman, Mr Larry Speakes, said yesterday.



Troops stand on guard at Anuradhapura after the Tamil shooting spree

## Buddhist pilgrims tell of massacre at shrine

Sri Lankan 'killers' took pulse of their victims

From John Fullerton  
in Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka

A SURVIVOR of a shooting spree by alleged separatist Tamil guerrillas described yesterday how gunmen disarmed soldiers, took the pulse of the wounded before killing them with a final bullet.

Sumana Kulasinghe, aged 42, a tea planter, said in a hospital bed that guerrillas ran towards a sacred Buddhist shrine in Anuradhapura early on Tuesday and shot at them. The pilgrims would be killed whether or not they tried to escape.

"Several of us tried to hide behind a bamboo fence. A bullet grazed my face, and when I put my hand to my head a second bullet went through my temple," the mother of five said.

A small child on my right was hit and fell down. He was crying and the gunmen: 'Please, don't. But they came up and shot her through the mouth.'

"I kept my eyes closed. I pretended to be dead. One man came to me and felt for my pulse. I heard him say there was no point in shooting me again because I was already dead."

At least 145 people, mainly from Sri Lanka's majority Sinhalese community, were killed when Tamil separatists rode into the ancient Buddhist town in a hijacked bus and started shooting.

"The terrorists went around to people lying on the ground to see if they were dead or alive. One

terrorist kicked the child lying next to me. The gunman bawled the child up on the ground with his foot and shot it again," Mrs Kulasinghe said.

She was one of several dozen injured crowded into the wards of the local district hospital.

N. K. Ranjani, aged 25, was carrying a baby out of the Buddhist shrine when a man in uniform called to her.

"I thought he was a soldier. He said something in Tamil which I didn't understand, so then he shot me," she said, showing two large bandages across wounds in both breasts.

Indira Kumari, a 10-year-old girl, was in too much pain or shock to speak. She had been shot through the stomach and abdomen.

Anuradhapura's district minister, Chandra Bandula, said he was particularly appalled by the killing of about 30 women and eight or nine children.

"The victims were almost all Sinhalese and the Sinhalese are mostly Buddhists. The terrorists went to our best shrine to try to us what Amritsar's Golden Temple is to the Sikhs in India," he said.

The shrine, a tree known as the Sri Mahabodhi, is considered sacred by Buddhists all over the world. They believe it was grown from the branch of a tree under which Buddha attained enlightenment in northern India more than 2,500 years ago.

"The terrorists killed a monk and four nuns. What they were trying to do was provoke a massive nationwide backlash by the Sinhalese pushing all Tamils into the north and everyone else south: in other words, de facto partition," Mr Bandula said.

Separatists have been campaigning for the past 10 years for an independent state in the north of Sri Lanka for the country's 10 million Tamil minority. In July, 1983, about 400 people, mainly Tamils, were killed in riots after 13 Sinhalese soldiers were killed near Jaffna, the focus of the ethnic crisis.

Most of Anuradhapura's dead have now been identified by relatives and taken home for burial at crematoriums. Cremation is preferred by Buddhists, but many poor people say they cannot afford the fire wood.

The government stepped up security throughout Sri Lanka yesterday, hoping to prevent the two ethnic groups mounting a reprisal attack after two days of violence in which more than 220 people were slaughtered.

Nearly 50 Tamils were killed, and many injured when a gang armed with guns, swords and knives attacked a ferry boat called before it reached two islands in northern Sri Lanka. A Defence Ministry spokesman said yesterday that the Government was investigating the incident, and the attackers had not been identified. — Reuters.

## Blasts mar Bangladesh poll

From Amin Chowdhury  
in Dhaka

One person was killed and at least 40 others were injured in clashes and bomb explosions during rural subdistrict elections in Bangladesh yesterday.

The most violent incident yesterday was reported from one subdistrict in northern Bangladesh. One person was killed and 15 others were injured in clashes between supporters of rival candidates.

At least 10 other people were wounded, three of them seriously in bomb explosions in another subdistrict in Khulna, in the south. Police

blamed supporters of opposition political parties for the bombs. Fifteen others were injured in clashes in Dhaka and Chittagong.

All main opposition political parties have boycotted the controversial subdistrict elections, saying they are designed to strengthen the political base of the incumbent Prime Minister Ershad.

General Ershad imposed tight martial law, banned political and trade union activity, and shut down all universities in March to avert an opposition campaign.

Violence has rocked the country since and 14 people have been killed and about 200 others wounded. Hundreds of opposition supporters and leaders have been arrested.

Political observers said that the subdistrict elections will consolidate the political position of the military ruler in the villages where the overwhelming majority of Bangladeshis live.

President Ershad has said that he will hold national elections after the subdistrict polls, but has not given a date. Presidential polls in Bangladesh are likely to take place in the winter.

## Indian police search for Delhi bomb 'ringleader'

From Eric Silver  
in New Delhi

Detectives investigating last weekend's bombings, which killed 85 civilians and wounded 150 here and in three adjoining states, are scouring north India for Karan Singh Kohli, a Punjabi Sikh who they believe was the ringleader.

According to the police, Kohli moved frequently between Delhi and the Punjab towns of Amritsar and Jalandhar. They are working

on the theory that the booby-trapped transistor radios that blew up buses all over the capital were manufactured in Jalandhar.

Mohinder Singh Oberoi, a 40-year-old timber merchant who was one of three prime suspects arrested within 48 hours of the first blasts, is reported to have identified Kohli as the man who gave him six of the transistor radios before the bombings. Kohli ordered him to deliver them to six youths, who would be waiting near a water tank.

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200 shares—one voucher in July 1985 worth £18.

400 shares—two vouchers in July 1985 worth £36

800 shares—two vouchers in July 1985 worth £36 and (if you still hold these shares on 23rd December 1985) two more vouchers early next year also worth £36... OR—

### ● Share bonus.

To keep your entitlement to one free share for every ten shares bought at the time of flotation you must retain at least that number of shares until 30th November 1987, and pay the second and third instalments.

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### ● Dividends.

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200 shares you will receive £7.80.  
400 shares you will receive £15.60.  
800 shares you will receive £31.20.

An interim dividend for 1985-86 is also expected to be paid in February next year.

\*From the end of May you will only be able to deal in BT's shares on the basis that the instalment has been paid.

NOTE: The bill vouchers and share bonus only apply if you bought shares in the initial offer of November 1984.

## Honduras wants to expel contras

From Tony Jenkins  
in Tegucigalpa

The Honduran Government has proposed that US-backed Nicaraguan rebels, fighting to overthrow the Sandinista regime, be expelled from Central America.

At a meeting of the Contadora regional peace group in Panama, the Honduran representative, Mr Jorge Ramon, said: "Honduras has asked that the irregular forces be relocated away from the conflict zone and away from Central America."

Honduras had proposed that the contras be denied facilities or logistical support, and is in favour of "disarming the installations" near Nicaragua's borders. The position of the counter-revolutionaries is still unclear. Mr Edgardo Paz Barricada, the Foreign Minister, denied a statement by the Minister of the Presidency on Tuesday that the Honduran army is already disarming the contras. He said that the statement "does not correspond to reality. I don't think the Honduran army has disarmed anybody."

A member of the principal rebel group, the FDN, said here that "our relations with the army are still good. We have no problems, because everyone is now in Nicaragua in bases the Sandinistas cannot touch."

The man, who would not give his name because he said the Hondurans have told the FDN to "keep a low profile," claimed that the contras will continue to use Honduras: "We will just leave our arms behind before crossing the border," he said.

It is impossible to establish the true situation near the border, as the army continues to seal the area and prevent journalists from entering.

The US Administration's policy towards Nicaragua is built on the counter-revolutionary war. If the Hondurans disarm the FDN, or deny it support, that policy will have to be rethought.

The US embassy here has not commented on the Government's proposals, but other Western diplomats say that the Americans were taken unaware and are upset.

They point out that, in a highly unusual step, the US ambassador, Mr John D. Demeter, was called into a meeting of the Honduran National Security Council on Wednesday. This move, they speculate, may have been to inform him of Honduran intentions.

The diplomats believe that the Honduran statements may simply be threats designed to press Washington into releasing more economic aid. The Honduran President, Dr Roberto Suazo, will be visiting Washington on Sunday.

## Mayor unrepentant after fire deaths

From Alex Brummer  
in Philadelphia

THE MAYOR of Philadelphia, Mr Wilson Goode, said last night that the death of four children at the fortified Colt house in West Philadelphia had been "very, very tough on me."

His comments came as police and fire authorities, using bulldozers and cranes, continued their search

for a growing uproar inside the city and across the country with at least one member of the city council calling for his resignation.

Mr Goode was still unrepentant yesterday about his administration's handling of the affair in which the city's managing director, Mr Lee Spinks, ordered the dropping of a bomb on the siege house leading to a fire which destroyed 60 terraced residences, and left 250 people homeless. "I am convinced there was no other way," the mayor said. Residents of the houses are now being rehoused.

At the scene of the neighbourhood fire in the largely black West Philadelphia community investigators were shifting through the rubble of the Move house. The authorities say they have discovered large drums of inflammable liquids, a fortified bunker in the basement, as well as rifles, automatic weapons, and explosive devices.

among the rubble of the house occupied by the Move, a black-to-nature group, which has so far yielded 11 bodies and a grisly collection of limbs.

Mr Goode has sought to dampen the furor over his administration's handling of the Move siege by announcing the formation of an independent commission to investigate events leading up to the siege. His decision fol-

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Pope goes to Brussels

THE POPE arrived in Brussels last night for a five-day Belgian tour amid tight security following a spate of mainly anti-Vieto guerrilla bombings.

Police marksmen patrolled the tops of nearby buildings as the Pope arrived by helicopter from the military airport to a ceremonial welcome by King Baudouin at Belgium's independence monument. — Reuters.

### Not nicely

A Singapore businessman who ordered a beer and a few "hostess" drinks at a Hong Kong girls bar found his bill—too much to swallow. So Mr Fattorini was whipped out by his American Express card to pay up as they left me with no doubt that if I did not sign the bill, my life was in mortal danger," he said complaining to the colony's tourist association. — Reuters.

### Oldest dinosaur?

AMERICAN scientists say they have found dinosaur skeletons at least 225 million years old in dry Arizona wasteland, which may be the oldest dinosaur bones ever discovered. The bones of a creature about the size of a small ostrich, were discovered in the Petrified Forest National Park by a team led by a University of California paleontologist, Robert Long.

### Briton charged

Robert Heaton, 29-year-old sailor from Sunderland, was charged in a Taiwan court with manslaughter in connection with a fire aboard a British freighter which killed two Taiwanese and William Mercy, aged 22, of Cardiff. Two other Britons were injured in the fire in the southern port of Kaohsiung. — Reuters.

### Computer fine

DENIS Fife, aged 36, from London, has been fined \$6,000 and put on five years' probation by a Chicago court after he admitted illegally exporting to Hong Kong a \$80,000 computer able to track weapons. — Reuters.

### Golden princess

A GREEK princess Agia Charofylakos has been jailed for 30 months by a French court for trying to illegally take more than 300 gold bars across the border into Switzerland.

### Chip off Rock

SPAIN's rightwing opposition leader Mr Manuel Fraga, says Gibraltar belongs to Spain and that its residents do not have the right to decide the Rock's future. The Popular Alliance leader said Britons were the only people benefiting from the pact in November under which Spain lifted a 16-year border blockade and Britain gave Spain the right to live, work and buy property in Gibraltar. — Reuters.

### On their bikes

Two members of a British team recreating Scott's journey to the South Pole have met a surprise visit to New Zealand's Antarctic Scott Base on bicycles. Scott, Roger Mear and Michael Stroud, rode in on their 15-year, bicycles after an all-day journey from Cape Evans, where British expedition is wintering. — Reuters.

### Police bombed

A policeman was killed and another blinded yesterday when a 450 lb bomb exploded near their van in the northern Spanish town of Basauri. Nine other men were injured in the blast from the remote-control bomb, which bore the hallmark of the Basque guerrilla organisation, ETA. — Reuters.

### Kinky sex ban

CHEAP sex magazines are disappearing from newsstands in Hong Kong after a public outcry and a stern warning from the Government that vendors of magazines with titles such as Tales of Kinky Sex and Chronicles of Strange Things face prosecution. — Reuters.

### Barefaced cheek

A women-only nudist beach on the Baltic coast in Soviet Lithuania has become the centre of a thriving black market. Women, buying and selling rarities such as clothing, food and medicines, are free from the threat of raids because the police force is largely male and the few women officers would not be seen without uniforms, the Soviet weekly Literaturnaya Gazeta says. — Reuters.



## SA puts troops into Angola

By Victoria Brittain

Two companies of South African troops are occupying key dam and electricity installations in southern Angola, and South African troops on the Namibia border have been heavily reinforced since the recently announced partial troop withdrawal, according to a member of the Angolan Central Committee, Mr Santa Andrew Pitra Petroff.

Earlier this week, two South African night parachute drops of weapons to Unita were intercepted in Malange province, in the northern part of the country, according to Mr Petroff.

Last week, Unita guerrillas attacked a small mine in north-east Angola "to steal diamonds," Mr Petroff said, and a British engineer, Stephen Bowes was kidnapped by the guerrillas. Apparently at least 10 civilians, including children, were killed in the attack.

Mr Petroff is a former guerrilla commander from the war of independence. He is now in charge of production. All development and production in the country are, he said, being hampered by the continuing South African-funded war.

He blamed Portugal for supporting Unita and denounced the United States for the most recent South African demand for a speedy withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

"We cannot accept that US counter-proposal compromise is one thing, and our doors are not completely closed," he said.

Captives are threatened with 'terrible catastrophe'

## US rejects Jihad offer of deal on kidnappings

Washington: The White House today rejected demands by the Lebanese kidnappers of four Americans and two Frenchmen for a deal to save the lives of the hostages.

"We will not allow ourselves to be intimidated by terrorist threats or permit such threats to compromise our fundamental policies and values," the White House spokesman, Larry Speakes, said.

The kidnappers threatened their captives with "terrible catastrophe" unless relatives quickly met their demands.

A statement issued in the name of the Islamic Jihad (Holy War) organisation said that the kidnappers were losing patience at the failure of the families to put pressure on the US and French governments to obtain freedom for "our brethren" held in Kuwait prisons.

In an apparently unrelated development, gunmen earlier seized an Irish UN official, Mr Aidan Walsh. He was the 12th foreigner to be kidnapped in Lebanon this year, but there was no immediate claim of responsibility.

In pictures issued by the Jihad, the hostages looked grim and unwell. The US embassy political officer, Mr William Buckley, appeared in the worst condition. He was gaunt and had aged almost unrecognisably since his abduction in March, 1984.—Reuters.

"We were determined to obtain the release of the kidnapped Americans. We believe we are presently following the best designed course to obtain this result in a quiet, non-public manner," Mr Speakes said.

The statement by the Islamic Jihad appeared to refer to Muslims seized in Kuwait after bombing attacks last year. Mr Speakes would not expand on what Washington was doing to secure the release of the kidnapped men.

The statement by Islamic Jihad was accompanied by colour photographs of the six men abducted in Muslim-controlled West Beirut in the past 14 months.

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● A scene in Beirut from the beginning of the civil war: now, nearly 10 years later, Syria may try again to bring peace

## Pax Syria may be Lebanon's last hope

President Assad considers a full peace-keeping role for his country's army.

From David Hirst in Beirut

PRESIDENT Amin Gemayel is expected in Damascus shortly for his seventh meeting with President Hafez Assad in less than two years.

With Israel about to complete the third stage of its withdrawal from south Lebanon, the continued fighting across Beirut's traditional fronts, and the political turmoil in the Maronite Christian community, President Assad is widely believed to be preparing a decisive intervention in Lebanon, possibly involving the return of the Syrian army in a full peace-keeping role.

In the past few weeks, as renewed violence and disorders spread from areas recently evacuated by Israel to the capital, Syria has been observing, but taking no action.

For some people this had meant that even Syria, much the most important outside arbiter of Lebanon's destiny, is losing its grip, that

no sooner does it manage to apply some palliative in one place — such as the new, but already discredited "security plan," in the wake of intra-Muslim fighting in west Beirut — than it is overtaken by greater trouble elsewhere: the resurgence of artillery duels between the Muslim and Christian halves of a city that are now hermetically sealed from one another as they have rarely been before.

For other people, it has meant that, with the last Israeli soldiers (though not their south Lebanese army protégés) about to leave, the over-patient Assad is biding his time, allowing the situation to mature — even, ostensibly, for the worse — until he has gathered yet more cards in his hands.

As a host of Lebanese personalities converge on Damascus in the run-up to the impending meeting, insistent calls for a deepening Syrian role in Lebanon and the return of the Syrian army to those parts of the country, especially Beirut, from which it was driven during the Israeli invasion, are a measure of the growing readiness to acquiesce in a Pax Syria. This almost all Lebanese parties have strongly opposed at one time or another.

The calls come not merely from the predictable quarters, such as the Lebanese branch of the Syrian Ba'ath party, whose leader, Mr

Assem Khasse, has reiterated that Lebanon's salvation lies in complete union with Syria, putting an end to European-imposed divisions of the post First World War order or in the return of the Syrian army in a constitutionally sanctioned peace-keeping role.

More significantly, the calls have come from within the Maronite community. The Northern Maronite chieftain, Mr Sleiman Frangieh, has "begged" President Assad to rescue Lebanon from "appalling massacres and grave danger," by the only possible means, a military intervention, just as he did in 1976 when he was president.

As an implacable enemy of the Phalangists and the Gemayel family, Mr Frangieh also urged President Geymayel to resign to facilitate Syria's mission. Another former president, Mr Camille Chamoun, a rival but not an outright enemy of the Gemayels, has also come close to urging Syrian military intervention, proclaiming his conviction that "the Syrian authorities can put an end to the fighting if they make sufficient effort." Two deputies are drawing up a parliamentary motion calling for the return of the Syrian army.

These urgings come at a time of growing political turmoil in the Maronite community which is also militating in Syria's favour at the expense of the anti-Syrian diehards

of the Lebanese Forces militia. Last week's volte-face, in which the Lebanese forces' new chief, Mr Elie Hobeika, asserted that Lebanon's destiny lay not with Israel but with "sister-Syria", has been followed by the formation of a new group which claims to speak on behalf of the Maronites.

The 18 leading personalities who make up the so-called Christian Coalition for a United Lebanon have not set themselves up in opposition to the Lebanese Forces, but they clearly betoken a process, destined to expand, under which the community find other voices to speak for it than the militants.

Who will emerge as the most authentic spokesman of the Maronites remains to be seen, but, for the time being, it seems that, despite the obloquy in which he is held by Syria's own allies in Muslim and Christian camps, the Syrians are still determined to work through President Gemayel, whose position has been at least temporarily strengthened by the collapse of the militia rebellion against him. Hence the summit.

Lebanese close to Syria believe that President Assad remains deeply reluctant to send his army back to Beirut. He hopes that he has now accumulated enough cards in his hand to achieve a decisive breakthrough by political and diplomatic persuasion only.

## 'Only 150,000' quit Nigeria

Lagos: Thousands of foreigners have left Nigeria since the Government ordered illegal immigrants out last month, but diplomatic sources said fewer than expected appeared to have gone. An estimated 500,000 illegal immigrants were told to put their papers in order or leave and were given until last Friday to do so. There were no official figures on how many had obeyed the order, but sources said perhaps only 150,000 had left.

## Israel reports progress in talks with Egypt

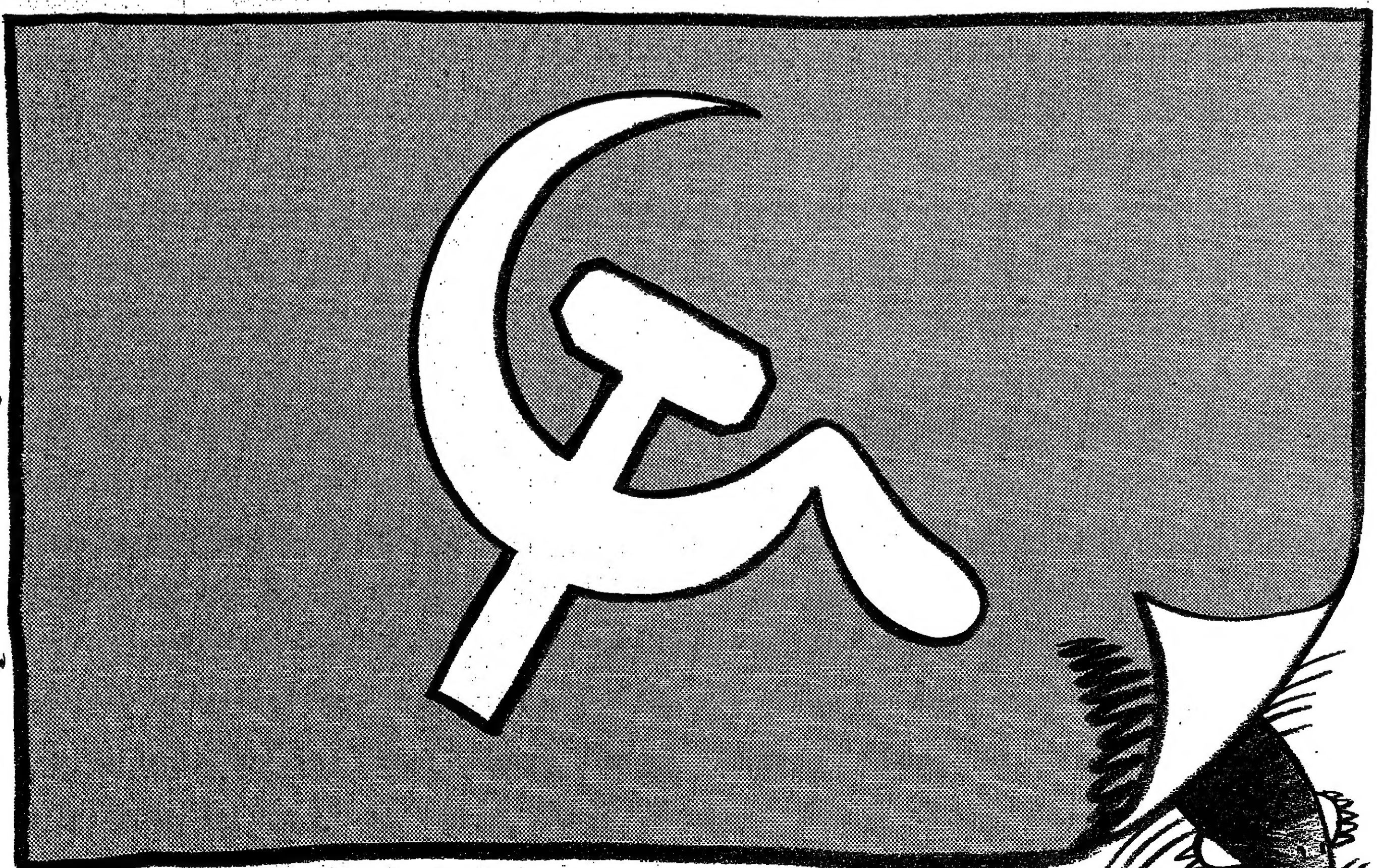
Cairo: Egyptian and Israeli negotiators made progress yesterday during talks on how to improve relations between the two countries, an Israeli government official said.

"I cannot tell you about the issues discussed because we are still discussing, but we made a great deal of progress this morning. But we still have a lot of work to do," the Israeli delegate Mr David Kline, said.

tors held two round of talks on Wednesday to discuss how to settle outstanding problems between the two countries. A dispute over the Sinai enclave of Taba, held by Israel but claimed by Egypt, topped the agenda.

The Taba issue was being discussed at a session with US delegates present. The chief Egyptian delegate, Mr Abdel-Halim Badawi, said that the US diplomats would be present as full partners in the talks on Israeli and Egyptian negotia-

Taba. — Reuters.



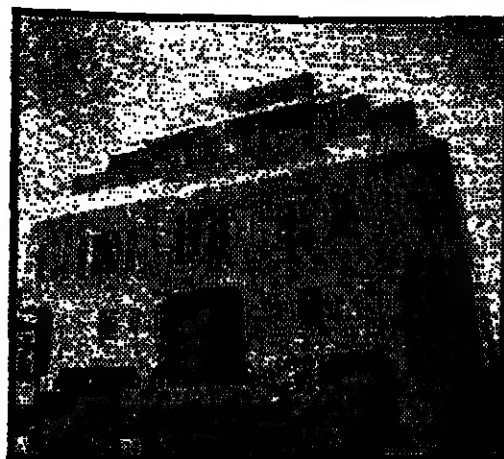
## He was the UN's top Russian. And the US's top spy.

Starting this Sunday, The Observer publishes the story of Arkady Shevchenko, the top Russian diplomat who for 2½ years at the UN was a mole for the CIA. It could have been written by Len Deighton such is

the drama, intrigue and suspense of this week's extraordinary story. And Shevchenko's intimate revelations of all the top Soviets is a real eye-opener for the following Sunday morning.

**THE OBSERVER**





The days of being weighed in diamonds are over. Now, reports Malise Ruthven, the Aga Khan uses his wealth to endow health and education projects

## The very model of a modern Muslim

THE affluent suburb of Gouville, close to Chantilly, a town almost wholly given over to the worship of racehorses, seems an unusual place for a religious centre which doubles as the headquarters of a major corporation concerned with development in Africa and Asia.

But then, His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan, 40th Imam of the Ismaili branch of the Shi'a, is a very unusual religious leader, both in the substance of his claim to spiritual leadership, and the style in which he chooses to exercise it. He inherited his position as "Living Imam" of the Ismailis — the only Muslim leader possessed of so august a title — from his grandfather, Sultan Muhammad Shah, Aga Khan III, in 1957, when still a student at Harvard.

Since then he has single-mindedly followed the course laid down by his grandfather when, around the turn of the century, he ordered his community to adapt themselves to the modern world and to enjoy, for their own improvement and that of their fellow Muslims, a place in the sun of the British Empire.

For the British public, Aga Khan III was widely known as the Prince of the Turf, an avid so-

cialite who mixed in the grandest circles and always wintered on the Côte d'Azur. His followers, in the imaginative view of the popular press, were glibly devoted from India, who venerated him as a living deity and parted with their wealth to present him with his weight in diamonds, gold or platinum.

The truth, of course, is much more complex than the popular image. It is also much more interesting, because it illustrates an important political paradox. A "right-wing" theology — one which vests religious authority wholly in the person of single, hereditary spiritual autocrat — can have progressive, and highly beneficial, social consequences — especially if that leadership believes itself to be entrusted, as this one does, with a special mission of enlightenment.

Like other Shi'a Muslims, the Ismailis believe that a special authority inheres in the line of the Prophet's descendants (through his daughter Fatima and his son-in-law Ali) who lost out in the early struggle for political leadership of Islam after his death in 632 AD.

For centuries Shi'a re-

sentment fuelled successive revolts against sunni caliphs and sultans who were felt to have betrayed Islam's mission of creating enlightenment and social justice, and for about two centuries (969-1171) one such movement succeeded in creating an empire based in Egypt.

The Fatimid caliphs were elitists who believed that it was more important to cultivate knowledge and art at the highest level than to enforce religious conformity, and after they were replaced by the sunni dynasty founded by Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi (the "Saladin" of the crusaders) most of the countries where they had held sway rapidly reverted to orthodoxy.

Ismailism, however, survived in remote mountainous regions in northern Persia, Syria and Yemen, and Ismaili missionaries made converts among the lower Hindu castes in Gujarat and Sind, and among central Asian nomads. The Imamate survived, under supposed descendants of the Fatimids, in Persia, from where it re-emerged, championed by the British, in the 19th century, in the person of the Aga Khan.

When Aga Khan I arrived in Bombay, after a quarrel with his father-in-law, the

Shah of Persia, a British Indian judge in 1866 upheld his claim to the title of his followers, laying down the basis for the enormous (and inestimable) fortune now at the disposal of his great-grandson, Aga Khan III, whose Imamate lasted 72 years, used his spiritual authority to greatly enhance the material prosperity of his followers. He ordered his "sons" to make money in business, his "daughters" to throw off the veil and get themselves educated.

The Ismailis rapidly developed into one of the most highly educated Muslim communities with a high proportion of doctors, lawyers and teachers — of both sexes. The high level of education not only ensures the community's continuing prosperity, it contributes to the relative ease with which its members can move from one country to another.

When the Ismailis, along with other Asians, were thrown out of Uganda in 1971, they had comparatively little difficulty in getting re-settled in Britain and Canada.

The Aga Khan's personal wealth no longer comes directly from the tithes paid by his followers. His private fortune is now kept separate.

He is a major partner in the Costa Smeralda, a million-acre tourist development on the Sardinian coast; and, from his father Prince Aly Khan and his grandfather he inherited two of the world's largest and most successful racing stables.

He is also the major shareholder in one of Africa's most successful newspapers, the Daily Nation of Nairobi. With a daily circulation of 230,000 the Nation saw profits of £1 million last year. Executives deny that the paper supports the government of Daniel Arap Moi in order to protect and promote the interests of the Ismaili community in Kenya.

Though studiously avoiding any overt political comment, the Aga Khan is, however, firmly committed to the policy of development in the private sector — a factor which makes his activities generally welcome in countries like Kenya and Pakistan. The health and education network in Asia and Africa bearing his name now includes 200 health care units, ranging from teaching hospitals to village dispensaries.

The new hospital at Karachi, to be officially opened later this year, includes a

nursing school whose aim is not just to train nurses, but to raise their status generally in an Islamic country where there is still considerable prejudice against working women.

The Aga Khan claims that institutions created or funded by him now treat more than 1,500,000 outpatients every year — 90 per cent non-Ismailis. There are also now some 300 education establishments; while at any given time, more than 5,000 students are pursuing higher educational courses on Aga Khan scholarships.

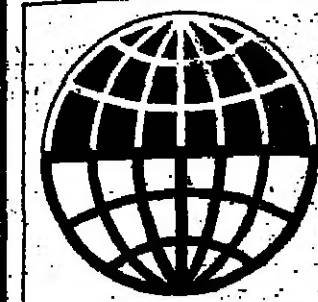
The Karachi hospital will also provide the first faculty of the new International Aga Khan University, which aims to have campuses in a number of countries, possibly including Britain. A proportion of the endowment money remains in Switzerland, to dissuade governments from nationalising campuses on their territory.

In spite of his vast wealth, the Aga Khan's resources are not unlimited. In recent years his strategy has been increasingly to work alongside other agencies. Current partners in development projects include the Ford Foundation, Oxfam, Trócaire Aid, Cank, the Government of Pakistan, the United Kingdom Overseas Development Administration, W.H.O. and Unicef.

The Aga Khan sees his role as catalytic, aimed at galvanising others into action at a local level. The two projects closest to his heart are the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, which grants prizes of up to \$4 million every three years and holds regular seminars aimed at improving the built environment in Islamic countries; and the Rural Support Programme aimed at improving the living standards of peasants in remote, mountainous areas like northern Pakistan.

Without mentioning Iran by name, he makes clear his views on the revolution, and the activities of other fundamentalist groups which advocate the return of Islam for political ends.

"Islam is a faith of peace. There may be situations, as in the Christian world, where political movements sought to found their legitimacy on a particular interpretation of the faith. But I'm not sure that if you were to travel extensively in the Islamic world, this is an interpretation you would find accepted by anything more than a very small minority."



## THIRD COLUMN

### Keys to the citadel

There is indeed a serious debate going on about policies towards the Third World. If only a few more people would notice. They should, because it's also about our own future, if a Labour government were to mount a serious challenge to the economic orthodoxies which dominate the financial institutions of the world market economy. It's a triangular debate.

In one corner are Bauer and Thatcher (and the Times), with a contempt for development aid, and a dogmatic faith in private investment as the solution to all the problems of Third World poverty.

In the second corner, lurks an unstructured and somewhat idiosyncratic view that because some aid (the examples are usually American) is harmful, all aid is imperialist, and we would be better to get out of the whole thing and leave the developing countries to find their own solutions.

In the third corner? Well, it's a bit difficult to put in a single category. Labour parliamentarians, voluntary agency people, development lobbyists "Fabian fudgers", a substantial clutch of development economists, Party activists (the Labour Committee whose meeting was so vividly described by Richard Gott on this page last week).

It would be useful if, as an essential first stage, we could agree on the key question. The concept in which it arises is one in which the developing countries have suffered two oil price rises, the impact of Western inflation, the deep depression in the industrialised countries, and the decline in aid.

It is also one in which the Third World scenario of the New International Economic Order, to which so many energies were devoted in the Seventies, has collapsed; in which the well-meaning reformist Brandt Report is a dead duck; in which the triumph of Chicago boys' economic theories over even the most modest Keynesianism is global; and in which the crisis of capitalism is acutely demonstrated in the Third World debt crisis.

The fundamental question really defines itself: what could and should a Socialist government in Britain do to challenge the premises of the global free market economy which has produced these devastating consequences?

Will it dare to attack the citadel? Let there be no mistake: the citadel is the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, particularly the IDA, cheap loans element, another matter. By its constitution and its composition the IMF is the irresponsible (in the precise sense of the word) agent of deeply reactionary right-wing economic theory; the Third World debt, littered with the tragic human debris of its politically devastating formula of conditionalities.

Cut wages, devalue, deal with money supply, curb public expenditure: driving the poor of the developing countries to a despair often contained only by authoritarian military governments. There is a recent addition to the formula — say the capitalist banking system and protect the real value of dollars floating around every day in the speculative money market.

What is certain is that we could not achieve change — in the IMF or a revolution — but there are potential allies. The OPEC countries, less influential now, in depression, and they identify important respects with the developing countries. Like-minded countries in Europe? Well, it would depend who won elections in France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Spain — there could be allies.

I think it is worth putting reform on the agenda. But I wouldn't give it more than a year — for the real allies resisted Washington's win. And I take into account the date of the next Presidential election.

The second option is withdrawal — the creation of a new financial institution, again on the essential basis of agreement between the concerned countries: an effective alternative to the IMF. These questions before the next election? asks Richard Gott. That is the real crunch central issue of Socialist politics in a hostile capitalist world.

Judith Hart

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## CHINA

### Land of hope

Zhang Bihua on conservation skills that have revolutionised grain production

THE world's select club of large-scale grain exporters will face new competition this year. Their rival is China, whose foreign grain sales could climb to a record five million tonnes.

"After a whole decade's efforts to remake nature, we're now rewarded," said Li Zhikui of Changwu county, in the northern province of Shaanxi. Li Zhikui belongs to a community of peasant farmers who have participated in a 10-year national campaign to stop soil erosion. His income is now such that he has been able, with his wife and two children, to move into a new house.

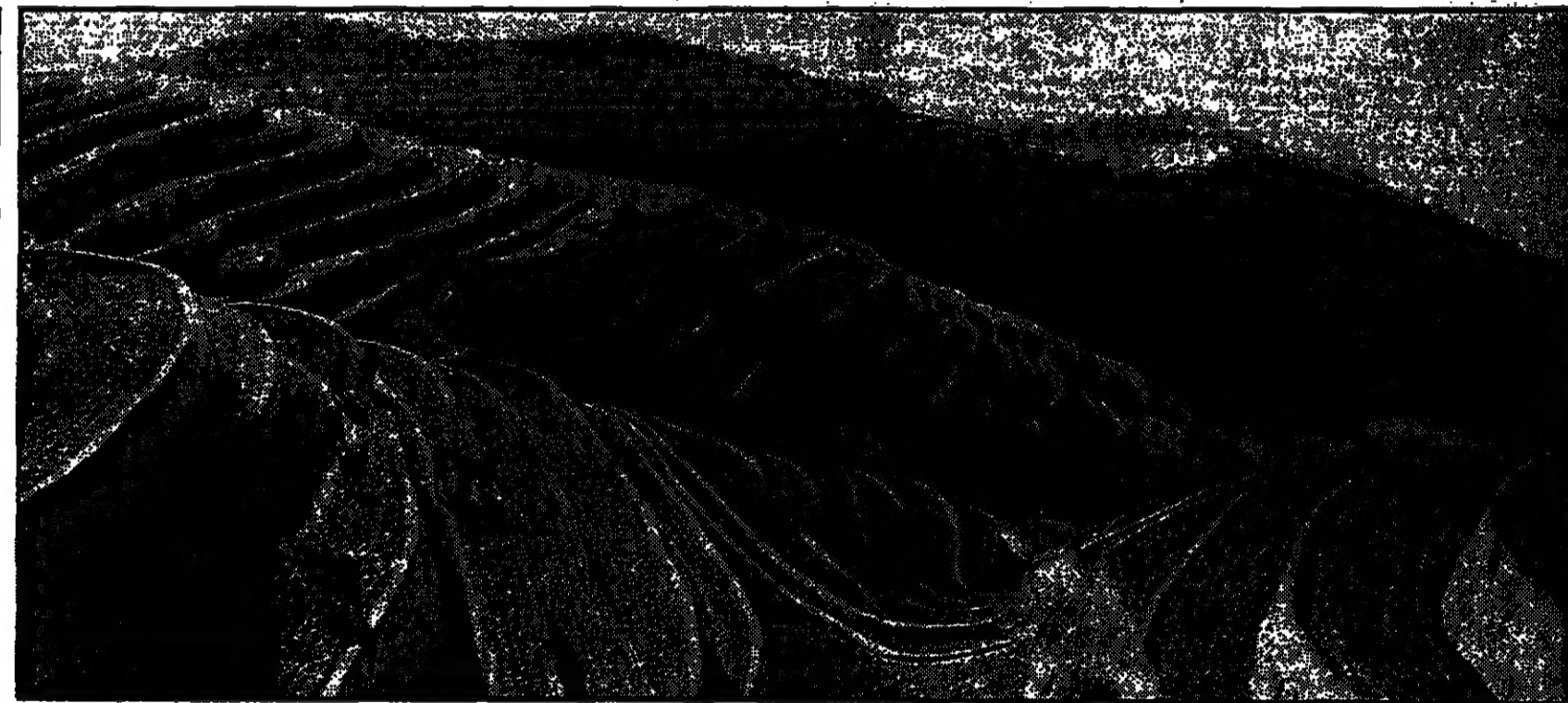
"We used to dread the rains, although they were so badly needed," he related. "Because of soil erosion around here a sudden heavy downpour could sweep away large parts of the fields, and the crops with them. But we don't have that nightmare anymore. Every family has more than enough grain now."

According to the International Wheat Council, commercial destinations for China's grain this year include Japan, Korea, India and Zambia, with reports of a recent large rail shipment to the USSR. China is also donating grain to a number of drought-stricken African countries.

Changwu's efforts to reclaim its degraded farmland (typical anti-erosion activities in many once fertile areas in 1985, about 95 per cent of the county's landscape was badly eroded. Its surface had been cut by run-off into 634 huge gullies up to 200 metres (656 feet) deep.

In the rainy season mud torrents rushed down the gullies into the Jin River — a tributary of the Yellow River — destroying fields and houses, and killing people and farm animals.

Successful soil stabilisation



will mitigate flooding of the Yellow River, known for thousands of years as "China's Sorrow." Changwu, for example, stands on a plateau of wind-deposited fine clay and silt about twice the size of the UK. Topsoil washed from the plateau is carried by tributaries into the Yellow River, accumulating in its lower reaches at a rate of 1,600 million tonnes a year. Changwu county used to be a fertile, well-wooded land and a traffic hub on the ancient Silk Road. Its fortunes fell after centuries of reckless ploughing and deforestation stripped the soil. Though conservation efforts began as early as the 1950s, no planned attack on erosion was made until 1974, when the peasantry was mobilised.

Every year after the summer and autumn harvests, the peasants would spend months reshaping the surface of the land under the guidance of local administrators and conservation experts. They levelled sloping crop fields, flanking them with trees on all sides. Gentle slopes were terraced with ridges about two metres high between.

Treed ridges were built on the edges of gullies to ensure that little or no topsoil washed down into the ravines. Small earth dams were built in the gullies in staircase fashion to blockade silt-laden run-off.

Sleep slopes were reinforced, interspersed with small pits dug in a fish-scale pattern. These serve as mini-reservoirs, containing run-off until it can be fully absorbed. The terraced fields, tree belts and water-detention ponds have transformed Changwu's soil into a thirsty sponge. According to Wang Hong, an anti-erosion expert, as much as 100mm of rain in 24 hours can be absorbed by soil where such measures are carried out. Grain yield per acre is increased by 30 per cent.

Nearly 70 per cent of the county's 6,175 acres of farmland have been reshaped, and 4,199 acres of denuded slopes are now treed. The area covered by vegetation (2.3 per cent in the 1950s) has been raised to 22 per cent.

The county's grain output has trebled in the last decade, reversing Changwu's reliance on government relief. Income from agriculture has increased 3.5 times. A winery, a paper mill and a pharmaceuticals factory have been set up using local resources. Fruit is grown, and the surplus is shipped to

other parts of the country. A beef-canning factory is planned for the area.

In spite of the expected record 1986 harvest, recent official statements have stressed that China does not intend to become a regular net exporter of grain. The priority will continue to be to balance domestic supplies.

## SOUTH AFRICA

### Battle of the books

Despite bans and police harassment, Ravan Press survives, reports Roger Omrod

THE present upheavals in South Africa's black townships, with the greatly increased police presence, will make life even more hazard-

ous for sales agents of the country's best publisher of contemporary South African books, Ravan Press. They already carry an icy police ultimatum: if arrested, the very worst eventually facing is 48 hours in custody.

The books being sold, it says, are not banned. Further, the publications are our property and any unwarranted action taken to restrict their distribution or remove them from the care of our agent will be construed by us as unlawful interference in the conduct of our business and will lead to legal action.

Ravan, like other South African publishers, has been forced into unavoidable acquaintance with the security and censorship laws. In Ravan's case it has had two of its founders banned, one of its first authors shot dead by right wing vigilantes, and a number of books proscribed.

Books are normally banned on Fridays, so sales often begin on Saturdays if there has been no banning notice. That first week of sales, Ravan tells its agents, is therefore vital. It goes on to detail different kinds of banning: one is a ban on merely distributing a book; the other prohibits actual possession.

Agents are also warned that

they are likely to be harassed by the police and what to do immediately: try to inform Ravan's lawyers. If arrested, the very worst eventually facing is 48 hours in custody.

The quality of Ravan's books is reflected in the prizes they have won: Fools, in the Staffrider Series that came to prominence through writers who emerged in the wake of the 1976 Soweto uprising, won the 1984 Noma Award, Africa's top literary prize. J. M. Coetzee, author of The Life and Times of Michael K, which won the 1983 Booker Prize, was first published by Ravan. Charles van Onselen's Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand won the Trevor Reese Memorial Prize awarded through London University in 1984. The English Academy of South Africa gave a creative writing award to Wopko Jensma.

Ravan also publishes a popular People's History of South Africa for the millions of South Africans who do not have university education. A workers series is being developed in collaboration with the emergent black trade unions, with the emphasis on down-to-earth language in a magazine format at low prices. Ravan is non-profit making

as a matter of policy, overseen by a trust including Nadine Gordimer and Breyten Breytenbach (one of the banned founders) and Bishop Desmond Tutu. The trust's work is on a co-operative basis.

Ravan Press catalogue available from PO Box 5113, Braamfontein 2017, South Africa, or Third World Publications, 151 Stratford Road, Birmingham B11 1AP.

## LETTERS

Sir — We have made inquiries from Islamabad and there is no truth in the allegation that 400 persons were killed or injured in clashes with the police in the Pakistan-controlled part of Kashmir (Third World Review, April 26).

Similarly, the allegation that the educational system in Pakistan is on the verge of collapse is untrue. Education has made considerable progress in recent years. Literacy is about 26 per cent and the hope is that within the next three years it will rise to about 45 per cent. To say that there is only 8 per cent literacy in Pakistan is absurd. No cuts are planned in the government's funding for education under the Sixth Development Plan (1983-88).

Like many other countries in the Third World, we do face problems in some of our educational institutions from time to time, but the quality of life for most students is much better than Mr Chris James's account. The precise details of our educational system continue to be taught and read in English classes. Students' societies are functioning in colleges and universities. Yours faithfully, Qasabuddin Azeem, Minister (Information), Embassy of Pakistan, 36 Lowndes Square, London SW1.

Sir — Please allow me to correct the article headlined "Death Riddle" (Third World Review, May 10). Mr Ahmad Al-Jarallah was shot and wounded by two men on April 23, 1985. He has made a speedy recovery and is now able to do some work. A few suspects were arrested and the matter has been treated in Kuwait with less alarm than is apparent in your article. Yours faithfully, H. Sadan, Press Attaché, Embassy of the State of Kuwait, 45 Queen's Gate, London S.W.7.

information and secrecy are pasted by the report. The GFIH describes the current African famine as "one of the greatest humanitarian tragedies in history."

This modest little book sets out to popularise the complexities which built a hidden, or ignored, famine over years.

## Western eyes

DAVID OWEN, Sadruddin Aga Khan and other Western liberal power brokers have come to surprisingly similar conclusions to some of those of the American radicals in their report for the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues published today by Pan & Famine. A Man-Made Disaster?

For once Western outsiders are as ready to blame the aid donors as much as African Governments for the long years of urban bias and rural neglect.

"Expensive hi-tech solutions" and the aid agencies' habits of competition, dupli-

Victoria Britain, Third World Review editor

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## NORTH/SOUTH

### Sandinista success

THE unsurprising revelation at the weekend that Britain is secretly blocking international aid and finance for Nicaragua coincides with the publication of two new studies of social and agricultural progress under the Sandinista government which show just how short-sighted and indefensible such an Anglo-American policy is.

Oxiam's Nicaragua, The Threat of a Good Example? has already been highly praised in Washington during the recent fight in Congress to prevent the Reagan Administration funding the Contras. Joseph Collins's Nicaragua: What Difference Could A Revolution Make? is an important background document and source for the Oxiam booklet by a team which has been working in the

agricultural sector in Nicaragua since 1979.

Constraints and failures in this key sector are set out as openly as astonishing success increases in production of staple foods (corn and beans up 10 and 45 per cent respectively) and export crops (coffee and sugar up 10 and 20 per cent). That success, like the dramatic increase in literacy, is in spite of a continuing war with the Contras funded at a level of \$73.5 million by Congress, according to Collins, plus what the New York Times had described as a "network" of former US intelligence and military personnel to supply aircraft, weapons and paramilitary support.

Collins describes well the role of the Catholic church as trigger to the peasant support for the Sandinistas and ceases of the new organisation built in every hamlet to give peasants the credit, supplies and literacy which have freed them from hunger.

The book is a practical introduction to Susan George's reflective essays on food,

hunger and power (El Fares the Land, published by Writers and Readers) which will be extracted on this page next week. Susan George's book is a product of research funded by the Washington Institute for Policy Studies and Collins's of the San Francisco-based Institute for Food and Development Policy.

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# The comrades meet amid sounds of strife

Dave Cook

MILLIONS of people, appalled by what this government is doing, remain sceptical that the Labour Movement offers any convincing alternative. They see an ineffectual, divided, inter-class and often sectarian left that fails to connect with their needs and aspirations. We are a long way from the kind of force that could mobilise, unite and inspire on the scale needed to stop Thatcherism in its tracks and plant a banner in the sky for a democratic socialist future.

What, outsiders might ask, does a declining organisation of 15,000 members have to offer to change this situation? Over the last decade the Communist Party has been engaged in some of the most interesting and important debates on the left. Marxism Today is the best example. Now, underlying the apparently "internal" disputes about the hijacking of the Labour Party and the refusal of some members to operate majority decisions that they disagree with, are political issues vitally important for the revitalisation of the socialist movement in Britain.

Thatcherism will be a pivotal argument at the Congress. Does this government represent a qualitatively different form of Tory rule, presenting the left with a much more formidable challenge than the more "consensus" based approach of Edward Heath, one that means the left cannot go on in the old way?

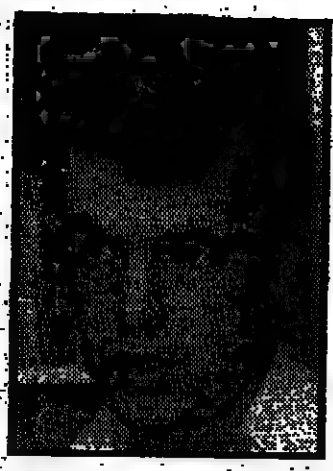
The "hardliners" within

the CP and the Morning Star answer with a resounding no. They think respectability for any problems the Labour Movement faces can be put down to media-hostility and past betrayal.

The second battleground is over alliance. The issue is whether the Labour Movement can do it alone, in Tony Blair's words, relying on its "natural constituency," or whether it must link up with, and in the process broaden its horizons through contacts with movements more to do with peace, Ireland, feminism, ecology and the aspirations of black people, for example. At stake is whether the Labour Movement can establish a dynamic and open relationship with these new forces.

The third controversy is about socialist democracy, and more broadly, what sort of socialism the Communist Party wants to achieve. There has been a long-standing opposition within the party to its critique of the Soviet model, and the related commitment to a pluralistic socialism as the necessary condition for the fullest development of democracy. Although this opposition has been decisively defeated at successive national congresses, the hijack of the Morning Star and its use as a Stalinist platform against the majority position has given a new ferocity to this dispute.

What gives these three arguments political significance are what they mean for the Labour Movement. On each issue the Morning Star minority within the Communist Party and important sections of Labour's "hard left" oppose the Labour Movement of any need to



A SPECIAL congress of the Communist Party will this weekend debate the rift between the party and its newspaper, the Morning Star. Those who control the party represent the newer breed of Eurocommunist; the Morning Star tends to promote the more traditional Moscow line. What the CP should be about is here argued by two members taking part in the congress, Dave Cook, left, and John Hoffman



ish conditions; people like myself who considered the new programme ambiguous and a third group who wanted a much more "Eurocommunist" party that would view the movement for greater democracy in Britain today in simple political terms and not as part of organised class struggle.

It is this group of Eurocommunists who hold the key to the present crisis in the party. They represent, in the main, the influx of new left radicals from the late 1960s and early 70s.

In 1979, as a self-styled "revolutionary democrat," they challenged the party's organising principle of democratic centralism, arguing for open actions and a non-communist editor of the Morning Star.

Although defeated at the 1979 Congress, this group continued to extend its influence on the executive (persuading many who should have known better that only the dogmatists in the party constitute a problem) and they were now in control of the party's journal, Marxism Today.

Under the able and imaginative editorship of Martin Jacques, the journal began to consciously propagate the hallowed themes of new left radicalism; contempt for classical Marxism; a rejection of the need for a socialist state; an abstract view of democracy and a tendency to pose the new social movements of the past two decades — women's liberation, gay rights, peace and anti-racist campaigns, etc. — against the forces of organised labour.

What the election of Tory governments under Margaret

rethink or to change. The scale of the challenge posed by Thatcherism holds a pistol to all leftwing heads, but these forces are saying stand still and get shot. They have become the conservatives of the left.

Here is the crunch. The left has to change its crisis demands bold moves to break with practices that no longer work.

The traditional rightwing urge a dilution of socialism, "new realism" in the unions and moves towards the "middle ground" with Labour's manifesto. "Hardliners" in both parties say hang on, get your teeth, before long the natural class consciousness of the working class will reassert itself, and hey presto, socialism will be on the agenda.

Fortunately a new alignment is forming on the left, demanding a break with both these conservative positions, and facing up to the radical changes that are needed. Call it "Eurocommunism," "realistic left" or what you

will. What is emerging is a distinctive socialist trend that holds the key both to the revitalisation of the working class movement in Britain and the reconstruction of a vision of socialism with democracy at its heart.

The Special Congress can be a watershed for the Party that has pioneered these revolutionary democratic perspectives, laying the basis for its own revival.

Dave Cook is a member of the CP executive.

and resources devoted by the Communist Party's leadership to expelling leading communists in London; exhorting the membership to oust the present managers of the Morning Star, and off course, preparing for this Special Congress.

Our friends on the left are naturally puzzled at the call to "Unite the party" by an executive which has expelled the editors of the Morning Star; stopped the London District from holding its biennial congress; continues to hamper the work of the District Committee in the North West and, it is rumoured, favours a substantial blood-letting of its critics if it wins through this weekend.

The roots of the present crisis go back to at least 1977 when the new draft of the party's programme, The British Road to Socialism, was adopted.

Three groups opposed this new draft. Dogmatists, who objected to the very conception of a programme which grappled with specific Brit-

## John Hoffman

THE resolution to be debated this weekend speaks of "serious internal differences" which "have gravely damaged our work in every field and which amounts to a party crisis."

This is surely above contention. The miners, after all, can hardly have been helped by the time, energy

## POINTS OF ORDER

ETON is notoriously an educational establishment which keeps itself to itself. For a start, it speaks a different language from the rest of us: where else would three halves add up to one whole?

But Etonians also engage in very peculiar sporting activities, at least during the winter months. There is the wall game, in which the ball, if not wholly irrelevant, is at least totally invisible. And there is the field game, which seems to be some kind of cross between soccer and Australian rules football.

This individualism, not to say eccentricity, probably accounts for the extremely odd choice made by Mr Francis Pym and his ex-colleague Sir Ian Gilmour, when they were picking a name for their Tory version of Labour's Tribune Group, Conservative Centre Forward, which seems fairly odd even to the adherents of the Conservative Party.

No one seems to have been sufficiently well informed about recent advances in modern soccer to tell Mr Pym and Sir Ian Gilmour that there aren't centre forwards in the game any longer. If they really wanted a footballing metaphor, they ought to have called themselves strikers. But that would never do.

Sir Ian is probably the one responsible for the choice. He has long been addicted to footballing expressions, and used one of the titles of his much admired exposition of the philosophy of traditional Conservatism. He called it Inside Right, and no one seems to have told him that there also don't have inside rights any more.

But the Etonian influence in the group may well go rather deeper than mere nomenclature. Any group headed by such men as Francis Pym and Sir Ian Gilmour is bound to have a strong feel of the broad acres about it. Both belong unmistakably to the upper rather than the middle class, and that fact largely dictates their political outlook.

For people like them genuinely do believe in the principle of noblesse oblige, or, more accurately, the idea that wealth involves duties as well as privileges. It may be old fashioned, and perhaps fundamentally anti-democratic, but it is a great deal better in its results than the Granddaddy philosophy of Mrs Thatcher and her allies.

Yet there is no doubt that Mrs Thatcher's loathing of them is personal as well as political. She thinks they patronised her when they were in her Cabinet — and she is quite right, they did. But then, they patronised Ted Heath, too. He just failed to notice.

It is this which accounts for the tone of yawning disdain which has been adopted by those around the Prime Minister towards the Pym-Gilmour group. However anxious they may really be — and they have every reason to be — to be serious about the turn of events over the past few weeks — the spunky little lady from Grantham isn't going to admit she is frightened by a bunch of well-bred weeds from Eton.

FIVE years ago David Owen, Shirley Williams and I struggled through the discussions that produced our Guardian article, or Open Letter, of August 1 1980. That in turn signalled our intention to make a final effort to rally the Labour party to its mainstream tradition of conscience and reform. By the end of the year we knew we had failed. Within a short while, the SDP was born.

The Open Letter said that Labour no longer appealed to a wide spectrum of opinion on the centre-left of politics in Britain. I concluded that, in consequence, the call might come for a new party "taking over many of the traditional values (and voters) of the Labour party."

Were we right to name the centre-left of politics, specifically rejecting the centre? Are we, in practice, in the business of taking over Labour voters? Midway between the 1983 General Election and the next this is a good time to take stock of our direction, our appeal and our destiny.

I say "our" appeal, "our destiny" but who do I mean? Is it the SDP or the Alliance? The answer is the Alliance; and the SDP as its engine. I helped to create the SDP as a vehicle for my mind of politics. But it is equally valid for a Liberal to see the Liberal party as his vehicle within the Alliance and no reason why we should not reach the same destination by somewhat different starting points.

We — our two parties — have not handled all aspects of our relations particularly well.

I am not sure that the Liberal party has wholly adapted its customs and practices to the needs of a party seriously seeking power and vulnerable to attack from enemies that now take it seriously: the authority of the Liberal leader should be strengthened. And for the SDP, an unnecessary, premature and rather fraught argument about immediate merger left tensions behind within our party and between parties that it has taken time to ease.

Having said that, there is no way in which the realignment of British politics can be completed if our two parties ever fight each other at the polls. To do so would be to set back the chances for the next generation. We must act on the assumption that ours is a permanent Alliance and put no artificial obstacles in the way of coming closer.

Let me make the point so obvious to all of you but now overlooked by others — that our Guardian article was not a sudden emotional



In the beginning—flashback to the foundation of the SDP (from left) William Rodgers, Shirley Williams, Roy Jenkins, David Owen

# My party—wet or dry?

William Rodgers

responses to an immediate crisis in the Labour party; it was the penultimate state of a long struggle to save the Labour party from becoming irrelevant to the real problems of our society.

It is brazen hypocrisy for anyone still prominent in the Labour party to complain that David Owen, Shirley Williams and I should have stayed to fight for its soul when they themselves never lifted a finger and often deplored the efforts of those who did.

Although our decision to break away and establish a new party was made between the Guardian article and mid-January 1981, the conditions that justified the break had been accumulating over the years.

Nothing since has made me doubt the truth of our

analysis or the wisdom of our decision. Until a rump of it is saved by Proportional Representation, the terminal decline of the Labour party will continue despite inevitable periods of remission.

I would expect the Labour party to survive this Parliamentary election more or less intact, perhaps raising its overall share of the vote by a few points in the general election, although being pushed well down in those seats where the Alliance has a good chance to win. I say this in warning to those who may have imagined that from the formation of the SDP it was downhill all the way for Labour. It was never as simple as that.

When the party was launched, I believed that events would bring the SDP

and the Alliance into government within about ten years. That remains my view although there are now so few fixed points in Mrs Thatcher's Britain that it could come sooner.

I return to the Guardian article, to our reference to "a wide spectrum of opinion on the centre-left of politics" and to my own form of words about a new party taking over many of the traditional values (and voters) of the Labour party. For me, this has defined and will continue to define the position and role of the SDP. We are not a party of the centre and, lest of all, of the centre-right. Our natural province is clearly and unequivocally of the centre-left of the political spectrum in Britain.

In practice, the outside-left

who have found their home in the Labour party in recent years, will remain permanently outside the Alliance spectrum. So, too, perhaps for several decades, will a hard-core of Labour loyalists (although the SDP must maintain an open-door to a number who stayed behind in the Labour Party—including some MPs—whose views and values are not really far from ours). The Alliance must find compensation by winning the support of a significant group of Conservative voters.

We can visualise the electorate as an arc of 180 degrees with a vertical axis dividing it 90 degrees either way, creating two equal quadrants to left and right. Throughout the 1950s, these territories were dominated respectively by the Labour

and Conservative parties. I believe that the Alliance can mark out a new quadrant by inclining the axis 10 per cent, perhaps 20 per cent, right of vertical to create a hard-core of Tory voters (winning the rest of its support to the left).

Any advance the Alliance makes at the next Election—if we were only to increase our 23 seats of 1983 to 45 or 50 or our share of the vote from 25.4 per cent to 30 per cent—31 per cent—will maintain our momentum. But no advance at all would mean a crisis.

So, if I am correct in diagnosing temporary remission as Labour's current condition, then we must win this wedge of former Tory voters without delay. We will certainly not do this by

credibility is an important factor. Gallup illustrated this with a question in January about the circumstances in which voters would choose the Alliance: 42 per cent said that they would if we could get a majority, 39 per cent if we could hold the balance but only 20 per cent if we could win no more than a few seats.

In 1983, we came from around 19 per cent a fortnight before Polling Day to 25.4 per cent. If next time we begin with the average we are at present registering 25 per cent, then credibility could give us a surge to over 30 per cent. In view of this and given the 39 per cent who say that they would vote for us if we could hold the balance, it makes good sense, especially following the county council results, to establish holding-the-balance as an acceptable option for the Alliance, provided that we maintain the necessary momentum of fighting-to-win.

William Rodgers is vice-president of the SDP. His article is taken from a lecture he gave last night to the Tawney Society.

# Why m'lud should now stick strictly to the point



## OUT OF COURT

David Pannick

THE Court of Appeal decided on May 1 that the women of Greenham common are resident on the common for the purposes of the Representation of the People Act 1983 and, accordingly, are qualified to vote.

One paragraph of this decision will be carefully analysed by all those interested in the performance of the judiciary. Sir John Donaldson, Master of the Rolls, announced that "the seven ladies (six of them appeared in person) had all made a point of telling the court that each was committed to the anti-nuclear cause and Katrina Howse made it very clear that she had strong views about the position of men in society. These facts were recorded because the ladies would wish them

to be recorded, but the court disregarded them for all purposes."

The reluctance of the court to decide the merits of the anti-nuclear cause or the role of men in society, is a welcome retreat from the legendary enthusiasm of judges to express opinions on all manner of things about which they know little. The Court of Appeal, approach follows the important precedent set by Mr Justice Woolf in a 1980 decision. He carefully noted, without forming any view, "the programme, principles, and policy of the Labour Party which for the purposes of this judgment I will accept are inconsistent with the programme, principles, and policy of the Conservative Party."

Such caution in current affairs was not characteristic

of past judicial generations. In an extraordinary case in 1932, Lord Justice Scrutton in the Court of Appeal criticised a trial judge, Mr Justice McCardie, and suggested that "a gentleman who has never been married" should not "proceed to explain the proper underclothing that ladies should wear." In 1966, Lord Justice Harman announced that in his youth "psychiatrists had not been invented" and that "no-one was any the worse for it." In 1980, the Court of Appeal decided that a wife's refusal to have sexual intercourse more than once a week was not unreasonable.

Pronouncements such as these are not taken seriously when judges so often display their remoteness from everyday concerns. During a 1979 case about the legality of a ban imposed by the Football

Association on a former England football manager, the trial judge asked counsel: "Kevin Keegan: does he play for England or Scotland?"

In the Oz obscenity trial in 1971, Judge Argyle asked (at a time when even Princess Anne was dancing on the stage of the famous rock musical) "What is Hair?"

The 1957 libel action about the Spectator article on three Labour politicians who were alleged to be drunk at a conference in Venice was tried before Lord Goddard. Why, he asked, was the article entitled Death in Venice, and who was it who had died there?

The fresh approach indicated by the Master of the Rolls on May 1 will require a re-evaluation of the judiciary in works of fiction. No longer will A.P. Herbert's Mr

Justice Woolf be able credibly to say, "What is the Derby?"

Lawyers, too, will now need to improve their understanding of extra-legal issues if they are to avoid suffering the fate of Sir Thomas Inskip, Attorney-General 1923-29 and 1932-36. As a Law Lord later wrote, "Some acquaintance with the less reputable side of life might have saved (Inskip) who informed the noble and learned Lords that roulette was played with cards, from suffering a devastating monosyllabic correction from the Woolfs."

Those who are ignorant of life outside the courts occasionally make great judges. Oliver Wendell Holmes, a distinguished US Supreme Court judge from 1902 until 1932, never read a newspaper. It is said that Sir Ed-

ward Coke, Lord Chief Justice in the early 17th century and one of the fathers of the common law, "never saw a play acted or read a play."

They were great judges, notwithstanding their ignorance, because they were well aware of their limited judicial function. They exercised an appropriate self-denying ordinance from what the Dictionary of National Biography described as the habit of McCardie J. of "delivering himself freely of all sorts of aphorisms on many burning topics of the day."

Good newspaper copy though such comments may be, the Court of Appeal has indicated that judges should stick to the point.

David Pannick is a barrister and Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford.

I DO NOT attempt to draw any conclusions from it, and certainly do not suggest that it represents any kind of straw in the wind, but Mr John Biffen, the Leader of the Commons, now keeps a bust of Disraeli on the windowsill of his room overlooking New Palace Yard. "Biffen," as he is universally known, is currently coming up fast on the rails as a potential successor to Mrs Thatcher, should The Fall occur.

Ian Aitken



## ORIENTAL DIARY: How Japan's exterior additive upset my equilibrium

AN BOUR's train ride from Tokyo, I stood in the aisle of a Japanese supermarket, looking at the packaged soups and feeling disturbed. Kind Michiko, with whom I was staying, could see that something was wrong. She tugged my sleeve gently and led me away to the safety of the pickles counter.

The culprit who had upset my mental equilibrium was the makers of Gentry Soups, who work their mischief by the application of an exterior additive (not at present controlled by any regulations). This takes the form of an English verse printed on the otherwise Japanese packets. There are five kinds of soup, and each kind has its own four-line verse. The trouble starts when you try to relate verse to contents, or discern a pertinent message. There's something there, but the poet

they use speaks partly in riddles. Consider this:

*Rain was raining all day long  
Mama humming lullaby  
Baby sleeping on her knee  
Daddy's trying to light a stove*

This scene can be developed in the imagination: stove lit, soup made, etc. But the general impact of the quatrain is dampening, almost hopeless, quite a contrast with the next package:

*Up above the roof so high  
Slowly flew the bubbles I blew  
Rainbow colours twinkling  
away*

Here the poet has become even more daring in handling, or rather suppressing, the definite article. But it's the same hand at work; the childhood theme is a kind of signature.

Are the verses intended, then, to lure children into asking their parents to buy these soups? No, said Michiko, they are aimed directly at the parents, and the point about them is that they're in English, what they say is irrelevant except as an index of the preoccupations of the poet.

It is true that the Japanese seem to be gripped by a desire for foods, and indeed other things too, with foreign labels. Just as would-be sophisticates here buy cans or jars with French inscriptions, so do the Japanese go for things that look American. The coffee-houses which now abound in Tokyo, serving remarkably fine cups of coffee, usually have English names, often inappropriate ones like The Gland (someone meant it to be The Grand, but must have conveyed a verbal

rather than a written instruction, forgetting that "r" issues as "l" from Japanese lips).

McDonald's establishments around the streets, and Kentucky Fried Chicken places also attract smart people who like to sit in window seats and be seen to be there. All carrying plastic bags bearing foreign words, issued by boutiques with foreign names. And Gentry Soup inside some of the bags, no doubt, so that this special brand of sophistication can be indulged in at home, provided that Daddy finally gets a stove alight.

All this has its charm. It is even creating a new vogue among western residents: collecting the bags with the most incongruous imprints (Hot Socks: Feed a Child: Nowhere So Good). But what will the consequences be? When the Japanese first

faced up to foreign food, after western mercantile pressures made them open up their gates in the 1850s, one lasting result was the installation of plastic (formerly wax) models of food in restaurant windows. These were necessary so that customers would know what an omelette was, for example. The need passed, but the custom remained and was expanded to include all foods. Indeed there is now a street in Tokyo where every single shop sells these plastic models.

In one I counted 135 separate items, including a real find, a spaghetti omelette such as would have been on display a century ago. This repellent object, which I bore back to England, has a message. The Japanese can be quick to adopt new ways, but they are also conservative and a new way can rapidly

become an entrenched tradition.

So, will these mystifying, unsettling verses be with us 100 years hence? Will the great-grandchildren of the present generation at Gentry Soups still be confecting a garnish of half-verified babble for packets of dehydrated scraps? I suspect so. Note, in my last example of this burgeoning genre, the agonising ambiguity created by the absence of either a question mark or an exclamation mark.

*Singing birds awake my eyes  
Mama making soup for me  
What a hand it would be  
To turn of Chicken or Creamy Corn.*

Creamy corn indeed, I see.

Alan Davidson



Drawing by Sout.

HELEN TARRY reminds you of Julia, small and trim, with a broad grin and a mass of hair almost controlled by a red scarf matching the farmer's sea. While there are certainly other women making wine in England, there can be few who fell into the job via an advertisement, in Farmer's Weekly for work with a tractor and a trout farm.

Her employer, Bernard Theobald of Westbury Farm, was glimpsed last month on Jancis Robinson's Channel Four Wine Programme, a choleric, hirsute head bobbing up like a pig-pung ball between waves of chin-high vines. In Britain, Theobald pioneered that method of pruning and training vines — the Geneva Double Curtain — which encourages prolific foliage and ripe fruit. He also lays claim to making the first English red wine to be sold commercially (in 1976). As wine maker, Helen's name appears on the label alongside his own.

No waves of green on my chilly visit to Westbury — the gnarled vines looked naked and drab as the mud below, with the women pruning encased in layers of wool and waterproof. The farm is an attractive mixture of Tudor and Queen Anne, with the winery in the former cowshed, an appropriate setting for a dairy-maid turned wine maker.

Theobald and Helen Tarry make a splendid double act: he famously charming and given to flights of rhetoric; she down-to-earth, low-key. They could almost be grandfather and granddaughter, but the relationship works. "He's bookish, im practical," Theobald believes, as a Navy man would, in letting people get on with their jobs and giving them hell if they fail.



Helen Tarry — picture by Martin Arples

## The face that launched a thousand sips

Helen Tarry came to wine-making via tractor and trout farm. Aileen Hall explains

The dairy-maid got off to an early start — "the milk-skirted farmer of Rotherfield Greys," as the Farm Mail described her at the time — washing cars and baby-sitting to earn capital to buy her first Ayrshire calf. Between the ages of 13 and 18 she had reared and sold 26 beasts as freshly calving heifers. She enjoyed that, and helping her farmer father. Lacking academic aspirations, she left school as soon as possible. The owner of the small family farm where she first worked got on with their jobs and giving them hell if they fail.

harvester and the bailer as well as the cows.

After a one-year course at the Berkshire Agricultural College, Helen specialised in herd management and set up a relief milking business in Peterfield. But getting up at 3 am to reach a distant farm in time for early milking was not much fun, and when she married in 1978, she applied for the job at Westbury. (Phil Tarry is also in agriculture, but seeds rather than livestock.)

Within a couple of years Helen had moved from the

tractor and trout to the winery. She made her first wine in 1983, just before the vintage (young Scott spent many of his early months in a playpen in the winery).

Wine making is of course more, much more, than crushing the grapes, hanging about, and bottling the results. A couple of months before the estimated picking time, tests start on sugar — and later, acid — to assess the ripeness of the grapes. The decision to pick is always a gamble: do you wait for another day or two's sun or

pick now to avoid downpours which could ruin the crop?

Once into the winery, the grapes are subjected to various laboratory processes, and for all her want of book learning Helen quotes the scientific formulae like an old hand. The office walls are lined with careful charts of previous vintages: picking dates, yields, levels of acidity and sugar.

Helen and Theobald make the decisions thus far, but when it comes to assessing the wine and blending it, everyone is roped in, from casual worker to professional taster.

Their scores are the basis of the final decisions. Westbury makes wines which both please the public (over 75,000 bottles sold last year) and win prizes. In the English Wine of the Year competition in 1984, the Muller-Thurgau/Seyval 1982 deservedly took both a gold and a bronze. It is a big, fruity wine, with a delicious flowery bouquet, and acidity balancing the ripeness.

Such official recognition is impressive, not just because Helen is still new to wine making, but because the whole enterprise is relatively young. Theobald says that the

top French chateaux would hesitate to put their names on a wine until the vines are 20 years old, and his are barely half that. When they and Helen have aged another ten years, he is sure they'll have the finest wines in the world.

The business has expanded each year. Eleven vines are made now, and 28 varieties of wine are being grown experimentally. In the winery, the old mill-cooler has been joined by more conventional presses and a small bottling unit which Helen likes to operate herself.

The viticulturalist's year has its quiet moments, but there are always tasks to be done, labelling bottles, nourishing the soil, making grafts, keeping the books. Summer brings crowds of visitors to Westbury (by appointment only) for a grander version which includes a lecture and slides from Bernard, a tutored tasting of several wines, and a snack (home made soup, and Patrick Rance's cheeses from nearby Streteley). Helen stands in when necessary but it is far from being her favourite job.

Spare time is something of a joke, but Helen enjoys gardening and arranging flowers, fresh or dried. She used to write songs, folk-song, and rock, sung to her own guitar accompaniment. Her flock of sheep ran to greet us on my visit — about a dozen hand-reared orphans who certainly know who's mother.

With wine producers like Helen joining the famous coven of wine consumers (Jancis, Robert, Pamela, Rosemary, Kathryn), there is less and less danger that women vis-a-vis wine will be treated like perpetual learners. But as Helen put it, "in such a practical subject my word isn't always good enough. I have to quietly prove people wrong and then approach them a second time." It works with the casual workers over the clutch on the tractor, and with Bernard. When he was convinced they could not make a decent rose, Helen went ahead and produced a hundred gallons anyway, and then brought it to him for a "tasting." "I'm quite tough, you know, so people don't often disagree with me... but the trouble is I'm not very feminist."

Westbury Farm, Purley, Reading, Berkshire, Tel. Pangbourne (075 57) 3123.



Paulette Mainer, with the video programme she uses to help with dieting — picture by E. Hamilton West

## Fighting talk for compulsive eaters

HOW do you spot a compulsive eater in a restaurant? It's not the customer who cheerfully puts away a great deal more than is wise, and still can't resist great scoops of two or three puddings "just to try." That is a sign of the merely greedy, and it's a fair bet that all of us who read this page are that.

The serious compulsive eater, according to Paulette Mainer who runs the Mainer Centre for Eating Disorders in Brighton, and has now written a book (with Jenny Pulling) on the subject, is more likely to order an omelette, toy with the food and send it away half eaten. Only then will she rush home compulsive eaters are women more often than not to stuff herself silly with anything she can lay her hands on.

Paulette Mainer should know. Now a trim nine stone, she was herself a 16-stone compulsive eater until her forties. A typical binge meal as she describes it, "a couple of tins of Christmas puddings, a packet of mince pies, a tin of condensed milk, packets of biscuits, and muesli," brings the eater no satisfaction. On the contrary, these binges are futile, joyless affairs, likely to leave the individual lying like a beached whale, exhausted, distended and distressed.

The worst of it is the feeling of a complete inability to choose or to control one's own intake. Indeed, many compulsive eaters talk, in Old Testament terms, of being "possessed by demon." Though haunted by thoughts of food, most compulsive eaters sincerely want to be thin. Some achieve thinness, either by fasting between binges, purging themselves with "post-dinner" or inducing vomiting, ancient Roman style, after eating.

What has gone wrong? It seems likely that the problem is caused by a complex interaction of physiological and

emotional factors. In an ideal world we would eat when hungry, selecting a variety of nourishing foods, and stop eating when we felt full. In this way we would maintain a stable and suitable body weight and feel good. Unfortunately, half the world has not enough food to meet its needs, the other half has eating disorders.

One salient factor might be the unnaturally refined sugary foods available to us. Experimenters have allowed baby rats or recently weaned human infants to choose their own food from a "cafeteria-style" menu to discover whether they will instinctively select a balanced diet. In the case of the rats, they will. But they know that these experiments are wrecked if sweet foods are included. Both baby rats and baby humans will gorge on sweetness.

Bob Bookes, an experimental psychologist at the University of Sussex, is interested in how we learn an association between flavour and calories, suspects that an innate preference for sweetness may be "hard-wired" into the brain. (For those of you who can't remember, human breast milk tastes sweet.) An overload of sugar plays havoc with a system not designed for leading to a see-saw effect on blood sugar levels, more cravings, and occasionally to what has been called "western malnutrition," where the stodge-fed body craves more food in order to make good deficiencies in essential elements. Add to this the human tendency to lift eating out of its natural context of nourishment, and you have a problem. After all, we first experience food in the highly charged atmosphere of parent-child interaction, and there are several theories about how this could lead to eating disorders later on. The most quoted is that of the

clinician, Hilde Bruch, who suggests that the baby offered food for reasons not connected with hunger (as reward, for example, or as antidote to boredom or hurt) might fail to learn to distinguish hunger from other kinds of discomfort. In later life, runs this theory, distress, like hunger, will elicit eating.

There is as yet no hard evidence that this is so. But we do know that consistently inappropriate responses to a baby's needs tend to diminish the child's feeling of competence and control over the environment. Paulette Mainer has sifted through Bruch and many other theorists, picking out whatever she finds helpful. Her own programme of "education" is an eclectic mix of in-depth discussion, relaxation training, 24-hour moral support if necessary, and a regime of sensible, mostly whole food eating. Her clients binger, however, of course, come off food completely to cure their addiction, but they can learn to face up to the problem and to avoid certain "trigger foods".

The aim is to learn to be relaxed about food, and to accept it as a normal part of living. This is not as easy as it sounds, and Mrs Mainer requires considerable commitment in time and money from her clients. After completing an initial seven-page questionnaire, clients fill in daily food and mood charts, and a four-week postal course costs £48, or £90 for 10 sessions at the centre. Still, if the programme can help to relieve the misery and guilt of the compulsive eater, it costs a mere 500 Mars bars. The Mainer Centre for Eating Disorders, 41 Preston Street, Brighton, East Sussex. Telephone Brighton (0273) 722613, 736005, and 23324. Paulette Mainer and Jenny Pulling, Fontaine, £1.95.

Catherine Mant

## A homemade minestrone and a smile from the waitress

## GOOD FOOD GUIDE

WAITERS are often the real focus of an Italian restaurant. Even more so than the chef, Carlo Rerzoli who runs The Butty on the banks of the Grand Union Canal at Stoke Bruerne combines both roles, eavesdropping across the dining room and joining in with conversations. He is unusual among Italian restaurateurs in that he has made some effort to get away from the Italianational menu and introduced some genuine regional dishes. Polenta — ground Indian corn meal boiled and fashioned into a cake shape — has appeared among the pastas, carpaccio and inevitable veal and chicken. Lamb, too, is roasted and served with black olives and oregano, which smacks more of Tuscany than Northamptonshire.

The strain of internationalism runs deeply through the trattorias and even the big London mamma mias of Italian restaurants. The menus are computerised duplications of a genre that has moved on only fractionally from the days of the great antipasto tables laid out in the centre of the dining-room. It is a menu of cliché, of Italianational — crab meat placed inside a scooped-out papaya

instead of an avocado, for instance.

In the expensive places, the main choice is between the cut of the service and the number of tables outside where you might eat on a sunny day or evening. San Lorenzo, living roof over a dining-room jungle of plants; Montpeliano — a slightly smaller sliding roof and fewer bits of foliage; Toto's — no sliding roof but a greenhouse effect; and the others, all tables in the more outside, Mario's — tables on the pavement and glass-fronted windows that open on to the street; Meridiana — tables outside on the prow of the first floor looking up to the Natural History Museum; Ponte Nuovo — tables on the pavement outside, enclosed by boxes of shrubs and shaded by one of the biggest umbrellas in London.

A new rival though, without the kudos of the outside eating, is Salsini, near Victoria Station, which has tried to break away from the international mould by featuring Venetian dishes. In winter the polenta regularly accompanies game or else the most well known of all the lagoon's delicacies, liver with onions. Also typical are hot artichokes cooked in white wine, garlic, parsley, and Parmesan. Venetian fish soup as it is served here is a bouillon full of white fish. To be fair, you are lucky to eat better Italian food in Venice than in London, even as the idyllic Lomada Cipriani on Torcello, where Charles and Diana were

entertained. There the food divides in restaurant terms between the rugged Italian — i.e. no cream sauce for the pasta — and the elegant and expensive — i.e. cream sauces.

But near the fish and vegetable market on the Lido of Venice it is a bar that as far as I can recall does not even have a name. On the counter are stuffed squid, polenta, sardines pickled with onions, fried octopus, baby crabs barely big enough to cover the palm of your hand. Here it is possible to eat spaghetti that has been made that day, cooked al dente, with some fresh clams on top, a fraction of £1 and a chopping of parsley.

Here are the roots of cooking. It is magical not because in itself it is a world-shattering dish, or that in a blind tasting 100 other spaghetti 12 taxi-drivers would all pick it out as the best, but because it was the food of the day and it is special as any other day's might be. This place with no name is not much more than a family-run cafe — six women to one man — but I mention it because the Italian restaurant scene in Britain is fragmenting. The variety of the cooking is spawning cheaper styles of eating places than trattoria — both of which fulfil basic restaurant functions — good food, swift service, a change of surrounding... and cheap, too, which must represent a real threat to the established trattoria. Pizzaland now has 100 branches.

ches, Pizza Hut 59 and the Pizz Express 28. But the chains do not have it all to themselves. In Bradford I can think of eight places in the city centre alone, privately owned and run. Deep pan pizzas are even getting TV advertising.

In Newcastle the Pizzeria Francesca does a roaring trade of pizzas with a choice of eleven toppings. It is hot, freshly prepared and a proper use of cheap, processed ingredients. At about £3 a heater for a night out with wine, that takes some beating in terms of value for money.

In London, pasta bars, courtesy of the pasta machine, cannot open up quickly enough — 20 different shapes and 20 different sauces and a bottle of Soave and change from £10. A mark of their impact is that Pallas have opened a second restaurant in Covent Garden (the first is on Camden Hill Road, off Kensington High Street), on the site of the old Grand. The trio of the Chelsea, Covent Garden, and the South Kensington Pasta Bars all manage home-made minestrone and a smile from the waitress. The only blot on their horizon is, of course, the price of pepper, which they may have to go easy with the mill.

In a few years' time, how will the conventional trattoria compete, or justify a bill of twice as much, or except perhaps, in its personality? How much do people eat out for the food alone and how much for the show, the decor, and the waitress?

But then a new trattoria has

opened in Chelsea — Ziani (Jolt of La Nappa and I Papi) — for followers of restaurant form, with lemon table cloths, handsome prints on the walls, and fresh flowers on each table. Carpaccio is generously served, artichokes are served hot with a side dish of garlic and anchovy sauce, and the fish steak has looked impressive. It is twice the price of the pasta bar four blocks away, but it is packed too.

**DETAILS**  
The Butty, 5 Canalside, Stoke Bruerne, Northants. Tel: Roads (0604) 836554.  
Salsini, 29 Butty Street, London SW11. Tel: 01-730 4094.  
Pizzeria Francesca, 138 Manor House Road, Jeonard, Newcastle upon Tyne. Tel: Newcastle (0632) 816550.  
Pallas, Pasta on the Piazza, King Street, Covent Garden, London WC2. Tel: 01-240 2839.  
Chelsea Pasta Bar, 313 Fulham Road, London SW10. Tel: 01-352 6912.  
Covent Garden Pasta Bar, 30 Henrietta Street, London WC2. Tel: 01-338 8396.  
South Kensington Pasta Bar, 30 Old Brompton Road, London SW5. Tel: 01-584 4028.  
Ziani, 45-47 Radnor Walk, London SW3. Tel: 01-351 5297.

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Drew Smith

## OFFCUTS

## Seasonal salads

LIVERPOOL would not be everyone's first thought as a source for avant-garde salads, and the weather has been so grudgingly cold that David Scott and Paddy Byrne (co-proprietors of Liverpool's Everyman Bistrot) seem slightly precipitate with publication this week of their Seasonal Salads (Ebury Press, £2.95). But the ideas — textural and visual as well as gustatory — are entertaining, owing something to David Scott's near and far eastern experience as well as to the recent British revival of near-forgotten leaves such as kysop and rocket. Here is a recipe for spring and one for summer, depending on which you think it is.

1 bunch (about 450 g (1 lb)) fresh young white turnips  
30 ml (2 tablespoons) horse-radish sauce  
30 ml (2 tablespoons) whipping cream  
Lemon juice to taste  
Salt and black pepper to taste

Peel and grate the turnips. If they are soggy, toss them in a clean cloth and squeeze out excess moisture. Put the turnips into a serving bowl and add the other ingredients. Toss for seasoning and serve.

450 g (1 lb) carrots, scrubbed and coarsely grated  
100 g (4 oz) redcurrants, removed from their stalks  
15 ml (1 tablespoon) redcurrant jelly  
30 ml (2 tablespoons) lemon juice

Reject any roots that are soft and spongy. This is a simple salad, but a first-rate one to accompany cold pork or beef or it could be served as part of a selection of salads.

Combine the carrots and redcurrants and mix well together. Stir the redcurrant jelly into the lemon juice. Toss the salad in this mixture then set it aside in the refrigerator to chill before serving.

Combine the carrots and redcurrants and mix well together. Stir the redcurrant jelly into the lemon juice. Toss the salad in this mixture then set it aside in the refrigerator to chill before serving.

## Taste of Alsace

THE title of Alsace Wines, by Pamela Vandye Price and Christopher Fielden (Society Publications, £16.95) was, of course, justified by the wine oracle — Andre Simon — in the words "Alsace means no dog." It is one of the few books about these wines in English.

Throughout history the country and the wine of Alsace have suffered deliberate and appalling damage from Germany. Still, though, they have contrived, again and again, to burst out of the yoke and stand up in respected dignity. In recent years the wine has even recovered from its — well-intentioned — labelling as French Rhine wine and is recognised as one of the great wine regions of the world, though it is still not always regarded at its full worth.

It is, of course, like no other in the world; the wines are

now, by definition, French; but in every way, completely unlike any other French wine or wine region.

The people, especially the wine-makers, link the easy enjoyment of the French with the almost scientific precision of the Germans; and their wine reflects that blend.

They have been utterly scrupulous about their wines, labelling them by the name of the grapes from which they are made; legislating most exactly about the grapes admitted — seven types plus three sub-species — under wine laws as strict as they are detailed. Alsace wines show Riesling at its clean, steely best, their Tokay (Pinot Gris) at its most refreshing; a sweet-smelling Muscat with an appealing dryness on the palate; Gewurztraminer in its unique spiciness.

This thorough, scholarly and enthusiastically illustrated, giving constant glimpses of a wine district unsurpassed in the world for landscape and architecture together.

John Arlott

## Cardiff truths

Sir, — I must respond to Drew Smith's sneering, poorly researched and incorrect article on the food scene in

Cardiff (Food and Drink, April 26).

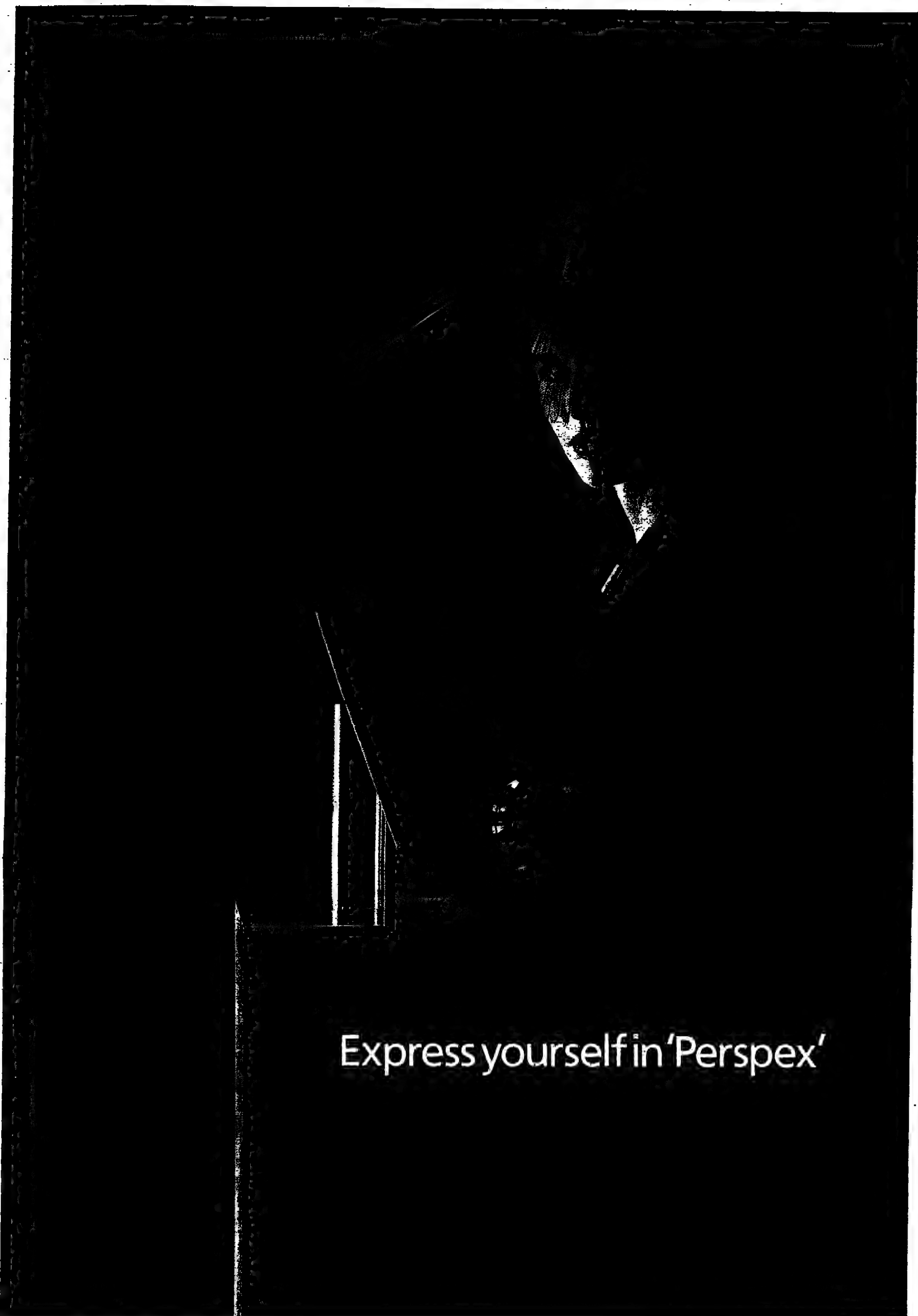
I have shopped in Cardiff's central market for 25 years, and I find it offensive to be told that it is "one of the scrappiest of the rich man's tables." There is only one butcher's stall which fits his description. Many others sell excellent meat.

The fish stall is one of the best I've seen in Britain. Their central decorative display on summer weekends rivals Harrod's. I was surprised to find he could not obtain laverbread here — I've never seen this stall without it. Practically next door, there is a store which will send laverbread by post.

Some errors too: Bessemer Rd market is not trade only — it is popular with the public on Sunday mornings. And Gower's "famous cockles" are obviously not famous enough for Mr Smith to get the name right. "Pencawl" (not "Pencawl") (Cawl is a Welsh soup). I must also look out for these "me, and on all my Welsh cookery books. Yours sincerely, J. I. Howell, 225 Newport Road, Cardiff.

Christopher Driver Food and wine editor





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## The order of one day, and the next

Laws on public order regulate some of the most important and sensitive relations between individual and collective civil liberty and the State. In this country, public order law has evolved piecemeal in response to the latest perceived gap in the State's network of controls over crowds, marches and meetings. The last restatement of the law was the 1936 Public Order Act, introduced against the Mosleyites. And the next will be Mr Leon Brittan's 1986 model, which will be based on the Public Order White Paper presented to Parliament yesterday. All public order laws are introduced with a particular contemporary threat in mind but are then used in circumstances which were barely imagined at the time (the first use of the 1936 Act was not against the Fascists but against striking Derbyshire miners in 1937). So the new White Paper must be judged not only against the immediate circumstances which have given rise to it but also against the possible uses to which the proposals may be put when Southall 1979, Brixton 1981 and the coalfields 1984 are consigned to the history books.

The first set of proposals in the White Paper will abolish the existing common law offences of riot, unlawful assembly and affray, and replace them with modern statutory offences modelled on suggestions made by the Law Commission in October 1983. These new powers will establish a largely realistic hierarchy of crimes committed by violent groups and crowds, culminating in riot. But the White Paper also floats a much vaguer new offence of disorderly conduct, aimed at those who behave in public in an "abusive, insulting, threatening or disorderly manner, causing people to be substantially alarmed, harassed or distressed." Behind these lawyer's words this creates a new crime not unlike the existing drunk and disorderly behaviour, but minus the drunk. The problem with this plan is that it could become a catch-all charge against lively and boisterous public behaviour which could be construed as hooliganism or mere high spirits according to the prejudice of the police. When the Home Office review of public order law began back in 1979, it was preoccupied with the

issues raised by National Front marches and the workability of the 1936 Act's banning powers on processions. The White Paper makes one very welcome proposal in this field, by refining the banning power so that a single march can be prevented. This will help to avoid the supposed necessity (as interpreted by the police in recent years) of imposing a "blanket ban" in order to catch one disorderly march. But the White Paper also extends police control over processions in some disturbing ways. Compulsory advance notice may seem a relatively uncontroversial new control, given that most march organisers already sensibly negotiate the details in advance with the police anyway. But there will always be protest marches which require less than seven days' notice and the White Paper does not give clear guidance about how these will be allowed. The most worrying of the changes, however, extends the criteria on which police may impose conditions short of a ban. Previously, the only consideration has been fear of serious disorder. Now, though, the Home Office wants to add fear of "serious disruption to the local community" or fear of coercion of individuals. The great danger here must be that the police and courts will interpret community disruption in a selective way, giving primacy to the needs of motorists or traders at the expense of protesters. This already happens in London, where police have unilaterally taken Oxford Street off limits to marches. A right to march provided that nobody else is inconvenienced is a principle that may be, would be, no right at all. Some explicit recognition that marches are part of normal life must be given if this change in the criteria is introduced.

But the most important part of the White Paper is the proposal to give police the power to impose similar conditions, on numbers, location and duration, on so-called "static demonstrations." This power will have very wide-ranging effects, not only on meetings but on protests like Greenham common, the vigils outside South Africa House (and indeed the Libyan Embassy) and, above all, on mass picketing. Politically, this is the heart of the new plans. And here the right of peaceful assembly in support of any political or industrial cause is at risk. In practice, this power to impose conditions will be delegated to the senior police officer on the spot. He will be able to say where, when and in what numbers, any peaceful mass picket, as distinct from the six "official" pickets sanctioned by the 1980 Employment Act code, may gather. And, following the High Court ruling that

"sheer weight of numbers" is intimidatory, regardless of whether any violence, obstruction or real intimidation is taking place, this looks like a proposal which will, in effect, ban peaceful mass picketing. That may be politically attractive to the Government, but it is an unenforceable and unjustifiable restriction on freedom of assembly which will surely create more problems than it solves.

## A summit that means something

A summit meeting was the last thing on Ronald Reagan's mind when he came to office in 1981. The all-important matter was (and according to the Strasbourg speech still is) the Soviet threat. Previous Presidents, notably Kennedy, have gained access to the White House through the same window of vulnerability, but not until Reagan did the arguments surrounding balance and supremacy assume their present wildly unrealistic proportions. (In nuclear deterrence enough is always enough: it is dangerous as well as unnecessary to add to it. By the time Reagan had seen his arms programme under way, and was ready to meet face to face, his counterpart — Brezhnev, Andropov, Chernenko — was more recumbent than incumbent. Since this hiatus in direct dealings between the superpower leaders has marked the most unpleasant period in international relations since the war there is an assumption, seductive but not at all logical, that a meeting would calm the atmosphere.

Earlier this year Mr Reagan proposed an informal drinks-after-supper type of meeting merely so that the two could meet. It was not received with any enthusiasm. The next proposition was that since Mr Gorbachev would be going to the UN they might meet before or afterwards. The Russians don't welcome that suggestion either. If there is to be a summit it will have to be in a neutral place. Hence a possible meeting in Vienna, where there might indeed be something to agree about in the reduction at long last of conventional forces in Central Europe.

The conventional argument against summit meetings is that they take a vast amount of preparation to ensure that something concrete emerges. If nothing does emerge the result of disappointed expectations is more damaging than any lack of expectations in the first place. That argument is overridden at present on two counts. In the first place there is no expect-

ation of agreement between the superpowers on the dominant question of nuclear weapons, so there will be no disappointment. The Division over Star Wars is total. It is conceptual, not technical, and by our reckoning cannot be bridged. Therefore we are back to the slow diplomacy on lesser matters which Sir Geoffrey Howe rightly, though perhaps optimistically, extols. A summit could give impetus to such moves. More important, though, is the preparation which would indeed be necessary within the American Administration.

Mr Reagan does not have a foreign policy. He has intuitions, but they are not the same thing. Nor has he done the wise and normal thing in these circumstances, which is to sub-commit policy to the State Department. Mr Shultz and Mr Burt have policies. Mr Weinberger and Mr Perle have policies. Mr Buchanan have policies. The trick in foreign capitals, including Moscow, is to know which is being expressed at any given time. Mr Reagan's speech at Strasbourg was a selection from the anthology of foreign policies set before him.

The criticism of Carter, a much-maligned President, was that he changed his mind. That is true. Most noticeably he changed it after Afghanistan. But when he did so it was because new evidence had been put before him. It was not the whimsical change that suits the message to the audience. There was in fact a deep consistency in Carter's foreign policy, not least in its attitude to human rights in the western as well as the eastern part of the firmament. Consistency in a wider context is needed now. It is obvious in Europe that the remainder of Reagan's presidency and possibly the next decade will be a period of intense competition between the US and USSR both strategically, in their divergent views of where nuclear security lies, and politically in their relations with Europe. A summit needs to explore (beforehand, of course) how this competition is going to be kept within bounds, what confidence-building measures, in the jargon, can be put in place. Without such an agreement the competition could lead inexorably to the result both sides are supremely anxious to avoid.

## Moving at a Gallup

You don't, if you're wise, construct political diagnosis on a single opinion poll. So Gallup's headline catching result yesterday may look rather different when we have

Marplan and Mori to set alongside. Politicians in an overheated Westminster, however, often panic first and think later. They have been waiting for months for the Alliance mid-term surge. If Gallup is right, this may be it. A seven point rise has pushed Dr Owen and Mr Steel into second place, a whisker behind Labour and a rather thicker whisker ahead of the Conservatives. If Mrs Thatcher was looking tossed and torn before the Daily Telegraph's modest signalling of this result we may now expect a succession of gale force gusts. The central focus of Gallup, though, truly belongs to the Alliance. It is they who have made the progress; and progress, significantly, after a mixed showing in the three county elections. The Liberals and Social Democrats, on the morning after the shires, were perceived as all-conquering because they picked up enough seats to hold the balance of power on a long string of councils. But Labour, on deeper analysis, also had good reason for cheer. That doesn't seem to have registered with the voters. For them the shires appear to have been absorbed like some Alliance by-election triumph: and that, in turn, has set a handwaggon rolling again. But the good news for the Alliance remains muted with slightly greyer news in the small print. On issue after issue, the Gallup public at least has only a scanty perception of the mountain of detailed policies hammered forth. So there is a typical softness to this mid-term convulsion.

Simple Alliance politicians might thus carry away simple messages: a ruthlessly pared down set of priorities to drive home: the honing of a single image. That, on present form, is certainly asking too much. But there are basic questions that now demand answers. Mr William Rodgers, in his Tawney lecture last night, foresaw no conceivable situation in which the Alliance would ever fight an election as separate parties. That is a route of convergence and ultimate merger that begins to need a time scale. And, even before such large problems are addressed, there are easy ones for resolution. Mr Steel, for instance, is refusing to talk at this stage about Alliance tactics in a hung Parliament, whilst Dr Owen talks of little else. Mr Steel is coy because he thinks it's foolish, this far out, to admit that the Alliance can't form a government of its own. Dr Owen thinks that's pipe-dreaming. How, variously, does yesterday's Gallup strike the Liberal leader and the Social Democrat leader? And might the formulation of a tougher, tighter policy not start by some agreement on their great expectations of the real electorate?

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Lesser of two campus evils

Sir.—F. J. Brooks (Letters, May 15) fails to understand the purpose of the working of the "no platform" policy in operation at York University and many other colleges and universities.

It is not a "totalitarian" blanket censorship, but a move to stop fascist and racist groups organising on campus. These groups attack more than just freedom of speech; they aim to make life a misery for blacks of this country and ultimately to drive them out of Britain. The "no platform" policy is not perfect, but it is certainly not totalitarian; it is by a long way, the lesser of two evils.

Of all the universities, polytechnics, and colleges with such a policy, it is the University of York that has been singled out for attack through the courts. No platform has been debated at all our union general meetings for the past year and our current policy, despite much scaremongering, has always been upheld. It was most recently confirmed by an overwhelming majority on May 12.

At the National Union of Students' Anti-Racist conference on May 11 there was strong support for our policy, many delegates fearing that if York's "no platform" was taken away by the courts, theirs would also be threatened. We all fear fascist organisations on campus, as the British Movement did at Sheffield University before a "no platform" crushed it. Students at York University appeal for support—particularly from other universities, polytechnics, and colleges with "no platform" policies in our struggle for union autonomy and our stand against racism.—Yours faithfully, John Wainwright, 31 Priory Street, York.

Sir.—V. C. Laitre was not Jewish and neither, I suspect, is Mr Brooks (Letters, May 15).

When the National Front preaches Voltaire's approach, it should be allowed a platform in student unions. Until then its presence will intimidate all those people at whom its policies are aimed. Giving the NF "freedom of speech" denies that freedom to others.

The underlying assumption of a "no platform" policy is not that the NF will win the arguments. Rather it is that freedom to speak depends on using that freedom responsibly. It is not responsible to use the power one has been given to intimidate and physically threaten sections of the audience that one is addressing.

In other words, a challenge to Holfeld!—Yours, Simon Myerson, Union of Jewish Students, London WC1.

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## A warning today for the old age pensioners of tomorrow

Sir.—As a doctor specialising in the health care of the elderly, I am seriously concerned about the medical consequences of the Government's proposals to scrap the State Earnings Related Pension Scheme (Serps). An adequate income after retirement is an important part of preventive health care. A varied diet, the maintenance of social activities, and good housing with efficient heating are just a few of the factors which preserve health in old age. All of these require a reasonable income.

The all-party Serps, while far from lavish, was in important step in providing for pensioners in the future. Our current state pension is already one of the most meagre in Europe; the proposed strategy seems designed to perpetuate this state of affairs for ever.

Present cuts in health and social services provision are already threatening the well-being of elderly people. The new proposals extend this threat to the pensioners of the 21st century in direct contradiction of the pledges on Serps made by the Prime

Minister before the general election. The major flaw in the Government's strategy is that the pensioners of 20 and 30 years' time are politically active here and now. They may object to the state of poverty that is being mapped out for their old age. I only hope that they will make their wishes plain before it is too late. Yours sincerely, (Dr) Gwyn Seymour, 12 Plas Grug, Caerphilly, Mid Glamorgan.

Sir.—Many people do not realise that the old age pension (sorry retirement pension) which is usually regarded as a right deriving from years of compulsory contributions is, in fact, subject to a means test (sorry, earnings rule).

I talked to a doctor who wishes to stop general practice when he is 65, but would like to go on doing occasional private work for his neighbours. It seems that if he or any other man over 65 or woman over 60 — earns more than £3,949 a year he has to wait five years before he can get the state pension. But if he or she is rich and has a large unearned income, the pension is theirs for the asking. As a DESS official said to me: "There are many different rules about pensions." This must be one of the darkest.

Perhaps Mr Fowler can include it in his review.—Yours faithfully, Alan Eden-Green, 6 Broom Water West, Teddington, Middlesex.

Sir.—David Barnett (Letters, May 10) says that if the State Earnings Related Pension Scheme were abolished, those in occupational pension schemes would pay considerably increased National Insurance contributions for considerably reduced benefits.

There is no reason why this should be so. Those not contracted out would not pay any additional contributions at all; secondly if the additional contributions paid by those previously contracted out were used to provide a substantial increase of 25 per cent in the basic retirement pension, the Liberal Taxation and Social Security Panel urges, all members of contracted-out occupational schemes would receive benefits from the state scheme.

It might be that members previously contracted out would agree to some modification of their occupational scheme to keep total benefits and total costs the same as before. Or they might think the extra benefit worth the extra cost.

The trouble with Serps is that it does nothing for those already retired in 1975 and little for those who retired since. Furthermore, it does least for the poorest.

Mr Barnett and the Labour Party, instead of rallying to the defence of Serps, would do better to join the Liberals in insisting that its abolition should be coupled with a substantial increase in the basic retirement pension. —Yours faithfully, (Lord) Banks, (Liberal Spokesman on Social Security), House of Lords.

Sir.—Prof Peter Townsend's "mildly reformist strategy" (Letters, May 9) for improving the welfare state is not convincing. His arguments for introducing universal non-means-tested state benefits and for retaining and extending compul-

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To extrapolate from this idea of markets failing to provide goods for some people to outlawing these markets altogether seems to be an enormous leap of logic. Intermediate positions should be explored. Why not allow a completely free choice of private pension plan — the regulated portfolio, if necessary — for all who want it, and issue vouchers of varying values for those on low incomes?

Other strategies might involve improving the operation of the pensions market by preventing under-investment of market power by individual insurance companies.

Contrary to Prof Townsend's belief, it is surely far more efficient to redistribute income by assessing peoples' incomes in relation to their "needs" — eg. number of children — than by the category they fall into. Not all single-parent families are poor; nor are old age pensioners; nor are all families with children. In other words, means-testing is a more efficient mechanism of poverty relief than are universal benefits.

One point worth considering about negative income tax schemes is that means-testing currently is done by both the Inland Revenue and the DESS. Negative income tax would remove the social stigma that's supposed to attach to the means-testing by the DESS if everyone, whether net payer or net receiver, were to have their test conducted in the same way by the same department.

And if the stigma is removed from means testing, what other arguments can be advanced against it?—Yours faithfully, Karen E. Hancock, Department of Economics, University of Strathclyde.

visual arts to obsolescence. Richard Baker, 56, Silverdale Road, Sheffield.

Sir.—The consequences of rationalism and science depend on the emotions of those putting them into practice.

Scientific rationalism has revealed more about nature than any other method: and the Western intellectual tradition is based more than any other on self-questioning, as shown by the long and continuing line of philosophers and scientists who have revised and are revising previous ideas about human and understanding.

The problem is not the use of reason but the misuse of its fruits, and here too reason is a better guide than anything else. —Yours faithfully, Nicolas Walker, Rationalist Press Association, London N1.

north of Kirkcubrighton, and Donkirk, were both collecting areas to which cattle were driven from surrounding farms to spend the night before continuing to market on the outskirts of Newcastle. My father remembered the resident blacksmith at Harwoodhead who made shoes for cattle as well as horses. The cattle were driven slowly; overdriving was discouraged so that the poorer beasts could be fattened on the way. The wide grass verges of the drove roads gave good feeding being well manured, but the tracks were very stony. We found it difficult to keep to one for any distance. —Yours faithfully, VERONICA HEATH

to give up, when her four young children become less dependent, I am sure she will try again. She said there was also reputed to be an underground passage down to the Hart burn which Meg of Meldon had used. This miserly lady, the wife of Sir William Fenwick had had definite associations with Hartington, so the buried treasure might have been hidden by her. Our friend had a report of an earth fall having blocked the underground passage, so there is no likelihood of the story's authenticity being challenged. From Hartington we walked across the fell to Gallowhill and Donkirk, trying to keep to one of the old drove roads. Caterside,

NORTHUMBERLAND: We visited friends who have come to live in Hartington hall, in the parish of Cambo, a dwelling described in Rodgson's Northumberland as a strong bastell house. It has a pile tower at one end, a ground floor area which originally housed stock, and living rooms for the family above. We found the lady of the house had been digging up the kitchen floor with a pick. She told us that a National Trust "dowser" had divined silver treasure buried there. Four feet down she would reach the treasure was below that. We sympathised with her efforts, but unfortunately, she had been forced

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### Embers of imperialism

Sir.—Geoffrey Taylor (Guardian, May 13) views Ireland through Anglocentric and somewhat imperialistic eyes. Like a large number of British people he patronises the Irish with an "I can't understand — why anyone wouldn't — want — to be part of the United Kingdom attitude, coupled with a vague suggestion that things have gone to the dogs since "we" left.

The simple fact is that the Republic of Ireland is independent because the vast majority of its citizens want it to be. It was never a willing part of a big happy Greater British family; its history is ample evidence of its long-standing wish to regain its independence.

Ireland was Britain's first, closest, and most resilient colony. We Irish are no more British than the Falklanders are Argentinian, the Afghans Russian, or the Algerians were French.

To call Dublin an imperial capital is as ridiculous as to call the Palestinians imperialists for wanting to reverse Israeli colonisation of the West Bank.

On the contrary, Dublin must be unique in its patience and tolerance as it tries by entirely peaceful means to persuade its descendants of the colonists to join it in making a new Ireland with room for all.

Articles like that by Geoffrey Taylor merely serve to stoke the dying embers of British imperialist nostalgia. —Yours etc, Ian Livingstone, 7, Eastwood Road, Ilford, Essex.

### Belly laugh

Sir.—Clearly G. K. Chesterton and G. B. Shaw spent a great deal of time together exchanging witticisms at each others' expense. The personal nature of the exchanges received notions of Victorian — or Edwardian — "good breeding".

On another occasion Shaw teased Chesterton about the size of his belly. "What are you going to call it?" he asked him. "If it's a boy I shall call it George; if it's a girl, Bernadine. If it turns out to be wind... just plain Shaw," replied Chesterton. Game, set and match.

Perhaps this exchange took place on the same occasion as the one referred to by Robert Turpin (Letters, May 8).

Terry Brown, Coventry.

### Topping bill

Sir.—For the information of Bur's Mills (Arts Guardian, May 9) and I make this observation on linguistic rather than (officially) tenable, perhaps!) moral grounds one does not commit seppuku. —Yours, D. J. Morris, Woking, Surrey.



## DIARY

WHO can the "very, very fat" Lady be who wanders around her Mayfair flat at noon in a "stuffy, stained nightgown" looking for more champagne? She is described in a piece of unparalleled personal abuse in this week's Spectator by one Anthony Stiller, who was engaged to tutor Lady M's 18-year-old daughter — herself a "stupid brat". Stiller, a pseudonym naturally, says the fat is "at best a mess and at worst unbelievably squalid. Empty glasses littered every surface; Moot & Chandon crates lined the walls and most things were covered with a fine sprinkling of solicitor's letters threatening legal action for non-payment of bills." As for Lord M he is "a shadowy figure, and rarely in attendance." Outraged friends and acquaintances of this happy family say they are immediately recognisable.

THE origin of Pym's perfidy and the launch of Centre Forward, it is being ungenerously suggested, may lie not in policy differences but also in the fact that the county council voting in his constituency showed the Alliance with 14,635 votes and the Tories with 14,435.

FRIENDS of the Earth in Bristol had their warehouse offices mysteriously broken into between 11.30pm and 5.30am yesterday morning. Three cameras and £190 in cash in a cupboard which had been forced open were left untouched. The intruder seemed particularly interested in the filing cabinet containing the group's anti-nuclear campaign material. Curiously there was no sign of a forced entry, the burglar alarm mysteriously installed because of previous thefts, did not go off. When the local police were called one remarked in jest: "Looks like the Special Branch again." Can this be true?

HAVING stemmed the Ethiopian famine, solved the miners' strike and revealed how nasty the SS were, Robert Maxwell is now concentrating his magic powers on the hapless citizens of Bradford. As part of the Mirror's soccer disaster and safety fund, Mirror journalists have been instructed to investigate which bereaved families are "worthy" to receive his benevolence. They are calling it the "Maxwell means test." Ever eager to interfere, I meant intercede, he also offered two of his reporters as special officers to the Lord Mayor, Mrs Olive Messer. Much to their relief the council had to turn down the offer after Naldo reps at city hall threatened strike action.

THE art world is about to be startled by the discovery of a new master of abstract expressionism — the result of a Channel 4 TV series, "The Art of the 1980s". The programme, now that Black On Black and Eastern Eye have been axed, it began when commissioning editor Farrukh Dhoody handed over the residue of his £4 million budget about £400,000 to his friend Tariq Ali and his new production company, Bandung. Mr Ali and his partners, Dariusz Howe of the magazine Race Today, and director Greg Launier were approached by an Indian professor of English who reckoned he had found the 60-year-old artist of Russian origin languishing in the States. Slides of Harold Shapinsky's work over 40 years, rejected by many a New York Gallery, were duly shown to the Tate, whose keeper of modern art, Ron Alley, says he is amazed that a painter of such quality remains unknown. Not for long, since he's the feature of Bandung's first documentary of seven — the rest about blacks in Britain. "It's quite a scoop," Mr Ali says, "and what could be more multi-cultural?"

THE INTRIGUE about who is backing the Kent for workers' Demos Rights in his court battle with the T & G gets deeper and darker. Mr Hughes, who lives in a caravan, is up in the High Court today asking for the union to reveal the reasons for its disputed ballot for general secretary. He claims he is being flouted by "senior officials" of the T & G, presumably supporters of "moderate" George Wright. Other T & G staffers, however, suspect that Mr Hughes meant to secure the services of one of the best trade union solicitors, Lawford & Co, who also cater for the engineering and electronics industries of the postal depot.

David Pallister

ALEX BRUMMER reports from Philadelphia on the nationwide reaction to the bombing of a troubled neighbourhood

# The day that the roof fell in on Mayor Goode

NOW you've told me what I'm charged with, when are you going to arrest Wilson Goode and charge him with murder? pleaded Ramona Africa, one of the two MOVE survivors of the terraced inferno in western Philadelphia. "Aren't you to blame for creating a holocaust?" she screamed at a court which set her bail at \$325 million.

While no one in Philadelphia is prepared to listen to what Ramona Africa and all the other Africans (members of the survivorist sect have all adopted the same surname) have to say, her views are not much out of line with what much of the country has been saying about Mayor Wilson Goode. Less than a year ago the good-looking, bright, businesslike mayor of one of America's most politically volatile cities was being considered as vice-presidential material.

A FEW businessmen not approvingly as the Shadow Trade and Industry secretary extols the virtues of "wealth creation" criticised the Government's obsession with the service sector and cautious against labelling industries either "sunrise" or "sunset." The key test, says John Smith, is whether the older industries are "renewable" or "disposable."

In Birmingham, at a conference on challenging decline — and in the West Midlands it is difficult to escape the acres of abandoned, roofless factories — a senior Labour spokesman can expect a sympathetic hearing these days from some of the industrial captains who once supported Mrs Thatcher.

They may find it hard to break the political traditions of a lifetime, but the city is being stretched to the limit in a region where one-third of the manufacturing jobs (250,000) have disappeared in five years — one report predicts another one-third could go by 1990 — and where unemployment has trebled to 16 per cent since 1979.

Labour's "Jobs and Industry" campaign, hailed as the party's most ambitious project, will soon be in full swing, and enthusiastic shadow ministers, like Mr Smith, are scouring round the country selling a new image for their party with a little help from a young, middle-aged friend called Billy Bragg. They are anxious to break with the past, and the West Midlands marginals

A few days after the atrocious siege of west Philadelphia is already being consigned to the political scrapheap by some of the experts. "It's certainly damaged his chances of re-election here," argues Dr Daniel Brand, professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania who speculated that Goode's clear ambitions for national office were now doomed. "The worry now is how he'll handle the political damage that will be done by the prospects of other Blacks seeking to make the transition from the city halls, where they have achieved dominance, to the state capitals and Washington."

John Smith and Stan Orme at Salford docks, picture by Denis Thorpe

## PETER HETHERINGTON follows the Labour campaign for jobs in the industrial belt

# Mr Smith takes on the millions

hold the key to any Labour revival.

Thus: "We must present Labour as a party of production and do away with the image of a well-meaning party which prints money for its social objectives, declares a leaflet on campaign themes for distribution to branches and to the faithful. The case for government intervention, it says, will not be won by 'dogmatic arguments' to a public which may be largely sceptical. Labour, on the contrary, must be seen as the party of partnership — the supporter of manufacturing industry — bringing unions, management, public and private sectors together."

cooperation between Party headquarters, the national executive and the Shadow Cabinet.

There have been jobs roadshows, an "on-the-bike" rally from Carlisle to London, a planned next month followed by a job festival. Then the campaign will be assessed at the party conference in autumn and relaunched.

State centralism now seems largely acceptable, although Mr Smith stressed the need for state planning, "but not of the Soviet style". Regional planning has now found favour that the outline of a new (or revised) form of government is emerging.

The authoritative Philadelphia inquirer, like the mayor and the television stations, appears far more concerned about the city's image than the dead victims, including four children, and the blindingly obvious mismanagement of the affair. "The matter of a city is measured by how it responds to a tragedy, how it recovers from devastating blows... how it picks itself up and fights back," the inquirer grandiloquently observed.

John Smith and Stan Orme at Salford docks, picture by Denis Thorpe

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strategists have seized on the example of industrial initiatives by some Labour councils such as Sheffield, the GLC, West Yorkshire and the West Midlands.

Take the West Midlands. Its local (and profitable) enterprise board, an arm of the metropolitan county council for the time being, has approved investment of around £11 million in over 30 local companies. It is supporting over 4,600 jobs in industries ranging from high class clothing to high-tech welding, including the manufacture of industrial robots.

be thrown into a house, I would move him before he would allow that to go through."

Similarly, the New York Times mocked Goode's view that the bungled effort at counter-insurgency was "perfect, except for the fire." The paper observed that the "pictures of bare, smoking walls, now published around the world, make a sick joke of the comment."

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ment Secretary, a former merchant seaman, are fronting a campaign which seems to be milking most sections of the Party. "The far Left and the 'do nothing Right' have been isolated," said one leftwing MP.

Smith is committed to devolution of political power — he once secured Labour's ill-fated Scottish Assembly legislation through Parliament — while Prescott believes passionately in decentralisation. They both adopt a cautious approach.

Goode — the technocrat turned politician — clearly hopes to salvage his career from the ashes of the gruesome ruins of Osage Street. But as Americans know from Ronald Reagan's reaction to the bombing of the marines in the Lebanon, when a politician takes responsibility in the United States, it effectively means they are absolving themselves and their administration.

John Smith and Stan Orme at Salford docks, picture by Denis Thorpe

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ally still committed to full employment, Prescott says there might have to be major changes in the distribution of jobs. "You might not be able to be on a 40-hour week for 40 years. We need as many people as possible in the debate. It's a campaign where we are thinking, debating, developing arguments."

But the people's party preaching wealth creation? Some are a little touchy at the mention of such a capitalist slogan: but the campaigners are anything but defensive. "A redundant worker develops a product with help from the local council, takes on 50 workers and he's a businessman," says Prescott. "He's making some money, yes. A number of the left have looked at some enterprises, developed by people in the Party, and said: 'Ah, they're into bus-

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The Labour campaigners are spending some of their time listening and learning while pressing home the broad themes of investment, through a new national investment bank, a huge programme of research and development and much improved education and training.

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It is not hard to find issues to exploit. This week found Smith, the Shadow Energy Secretary, Stan Orme and a campaign team at Salford University, an engineering and high technology centre where the government grant has been cut by 40 per cent and student and staff numbers by 30 per cent. A year ago the university presented the Government with a plan to develop an information technology institute on the campus. They are still awaiting a reply.

Later, at a redundant Salford docks, now being developed, an industrialist advising the party was asked how he squared the new image with the cornerstone of Labour's ideology enshrined in Clause Four of the constitution.

SEUMAS MILNE on the peace camp's power struggle

## CND's successor story

THIS Sunday the final interviews will take place to pick a successor to Mr Bruce Kent as general secretary of the largest protest movement to emerge in Britain since the war — the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Mr Kent has presided over an increase in CND's national membership from 9000 in 1980 to 111,000 this year. If members of local groups are included, the figure is nearer 400,000 — and still growing.

Not surprisingly, Mr Kent has had enough of shouldering both the enormous workload that has come with success and the public relations role that has until now gone with it. After he leaves his full-time CND job in July, Mr Kent is planning an ambassadorial role for himself as honorary vice-president.

The succession is being eagerly watched by CND activists as a pointer to the future political direction of the campaign, although it is intended that the new general secretary will have a lower public profile than in the past.

Two of the five applicants who have been shortlisted to meet CND's interviewing panel on Sunday — Ms Margaret Barendse and Mr Dan Plesch — are also associated with another campaign, the European Nuclear Disarmament movement.

END is an international organisation with support groups throughout Western Europe which argues that the struggle for European disarmament cannot be separated from the fight for greater civil rights in the Warsaw pact states.

be backing a strong conventional NATO arms programme in co-operation with sections of the military establishment. Current CND policy is in favour of conventional as well as nuclear disarmament.

Last year's CND conference judged the issue of a specific non-nuclear defence policy, but its supporters are expected to try again at the next conference.

The opponents of END and the non-nuclear defence approach are concentrated in CND's Labour Party, youth and Green organisations, and are represented in the leadership by one of CND's vice-chairs, Ms Joy Hindmarch.

They would prefer Bruce Kent's job to go to Mr Dermot Nolan, who is national secretary of Irish CND and on Sunday's shortlist. Mr Nolan is thought to be in favour of stepping up CND's anti-Nato campaign and of adopting a more militant stance.

A compromise candidate would be Mr Sean Sinclair, who is not even a member of CND, but does belong to the Catholic peace group Pax Christi. Mr Sinclair has picked up managerial experience working for the charity Mencap and has the advantage of a low political profile.

The issue of a replacement for Bruce Kent is made more sensitive by the fact that CND's chairwoman, Ms Joan Ruddock, is also expected to stand down this year. She is known to be casting around for a safe Labour seat and has told CND activists that she will go in June if a "suitable candidate" has emerged by then.

is itself committed to pulling Britain out of the Atlantic Alliance. And they have powerful advocates among intellectuals like E. P. Thompson and Mary Kaldor.

Last year, at END's third convention in Perugia, delegates from "official" peace groups were harassed by delegates, and East European peacekeepers have since denounced END's activities as an American-inspired attempt to split the international peace movement.

Ms Barendse, who is a frontrunner for Bruce Kent's job, was organising secretary of END from May 1981 to December 1982. But she now says that she does not fully agree with END's linking of civil rights and disarmament as "it is an argument that has been used by the American negotiating to stall disarmament talks."

Nevertheless, in CND's interviewing panel bids for an END supporter on Sunday, it would probably mean closer contacts between the campaign and dissenting groups in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Closely allied with the END supporters on CND's national council and its more militant "Executive Committee" is the Campaign for a Clear, Moderate, Defence Strategy, CND's vice-chairman Mr Roger Smith and executive members Mr James Hinton and Mr Dan Smith have been associated with the idea that CND should aim to build a broad cross-party coalition behind a credible non-nuclear British defence programme inside NATO.

The strategy echoes the political approach advocated by the Eurocommunist guru Professor Eric Hobsbawm and favoured by the Labour leader, Neil Kinnock. Ruddock, who is expected to be called back from his ambassadorial retirement to take over the chair,

ment Secretary, a former merchant seaman, are fronting a campaign which seems to be milking most sections of the Party. "The far Left and the 'do nothing Right' have been isolated," said one leftwing MP.

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ness creation'. So what? We're about creating jobs."

The Labour campaigners are spending some of their time listening and learning while pressing home the broad themes of investment, through a new national investment bank, a huge programme of research and development and much improved education and training.

It is not hard to find issues to exploit. This week found Smith, the Shadow Energy Secretary, Stan Orme and a campaign team at Salford University, an engineering and high technology centre where the government grant has been cut by 40 per cent and student and staff numbers by 30 per cent. A year ago the university presented the Government with a plan to develop an information technology institute on the campus. They are still awaiting a reply.

Later, at a redundant Salford docks, now being developed, an industrialist advising the party was asked how he squared the new image with the cornerstone of Labour's ideology enshrined in Clause Four of the constitution.

Goode — the technocrat turned politician — clearly hopes to salvage his career from the ashes of the gruesome ruins of Osage Street. But as Americans know from Ronald Reagan's reaction to the bombing of the marines in the Lebanon, when a politician takes responsibility in the United States, it effectively means they are absolving themselves and their administration.

John Smith and Stan Orme at Salford docks, picture by Denis Thorpe

## PETER HETHERINGTON follows the Labour campaign for jobs in the industrial belt

# Mr Smith takes on the millions

strategists have seized on the example of industrial initiatives by some Labour councils such as Sheffield, the GLC, West Yorkshire and the West Midlands.

Take the West Midlands. Its local (and profitable) enterprise board, an arm of the metropolitan county council for the time being, has approved investment of around £11 million in over 30 local companies. It is supporting over 4,600 jobs in industries ranging from high class clothing to high-tech welding, including the manufacture of industrial robots.

be thrown into a house, I would move him before he would allow that to go through."

Similarly, the New York Times mocked Goode's view that the bungled effort at counter-insurgency was "perfect, except for the fire." The paper observed that the "pictures of bare, smoking walls, now published around the world, make a sick joke of the comment."

John Smith and Stan Orme at Salford docks, picture by Denis Thorpe

## PETER HETHERINGTON follows the Labour campaign for jobs in the industrial belt

# Mr Smith takes on the millions

ment Secretary, a former merchant seaman, are fronting a campaign which seems to be milking most sections of the Party. "The far Left and the 'do nothing Right' have been isolated," said one leftwing MP.

Smith is committed to devolution of political power — he once secured Labour's ill-fated Scottish Assembly legislation through Parliament — while Prescott believes passionately in decentralisation. They both adopt a cautious approach.

Goode — the technocrat turned politician — clearly hopes to salvage his career from the ashes of the gruesome ruins of Osage Street. But as Americans know from Ronald Reagan's reaction to the bombing of the marines in the Lebanon, when a politician takes responsibility in the United States, it effectively means they are absolving themselves and their administration.

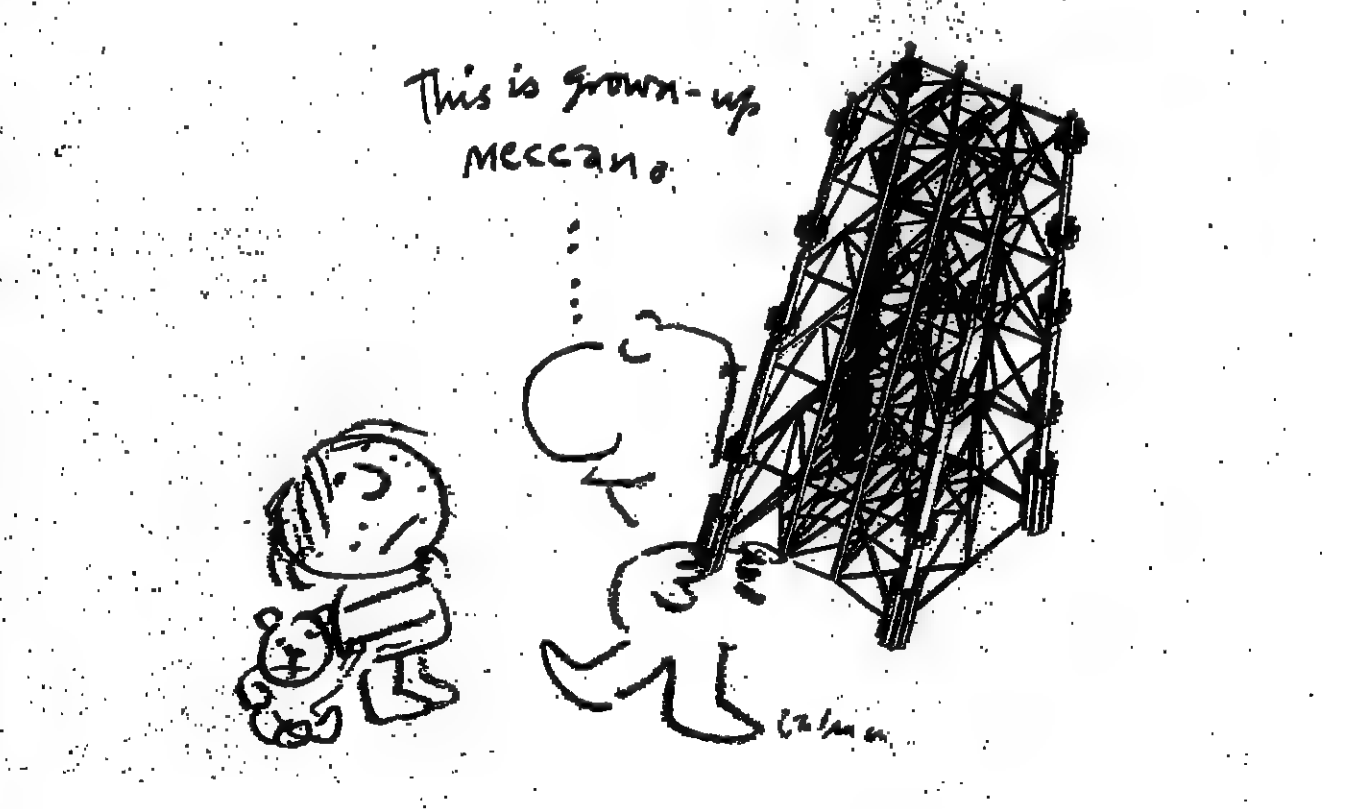
John Smith and Stan Orme at Salford docks, picture by Denis Thorpe

## PETER HETHERINGTON follows the Labour campaign for jobs in the industrial belt

# Mr Smith takes on the millions

ally still committed to full employment, Prescott says there might have to be major changes in the distribution of jobs. "You might not be able to be on a 40-hour week for 40 years. We need as many people as possible in the debate. It's a campaign where we are thinking, debating, developing arguments."

But the people's party preaching wealth creation? Some are a little touchy at the mention of such a capitalist slogan: but the campaigners are anything but defensive. "A redundant worker develops a product with help from the local council, takes on 50 workers and he's a businessman," says Prescott. "He's making some money, yes. A number of the left have looked at some enterprises, developed by people in the Party, and said: 'Ah, they're into bus-



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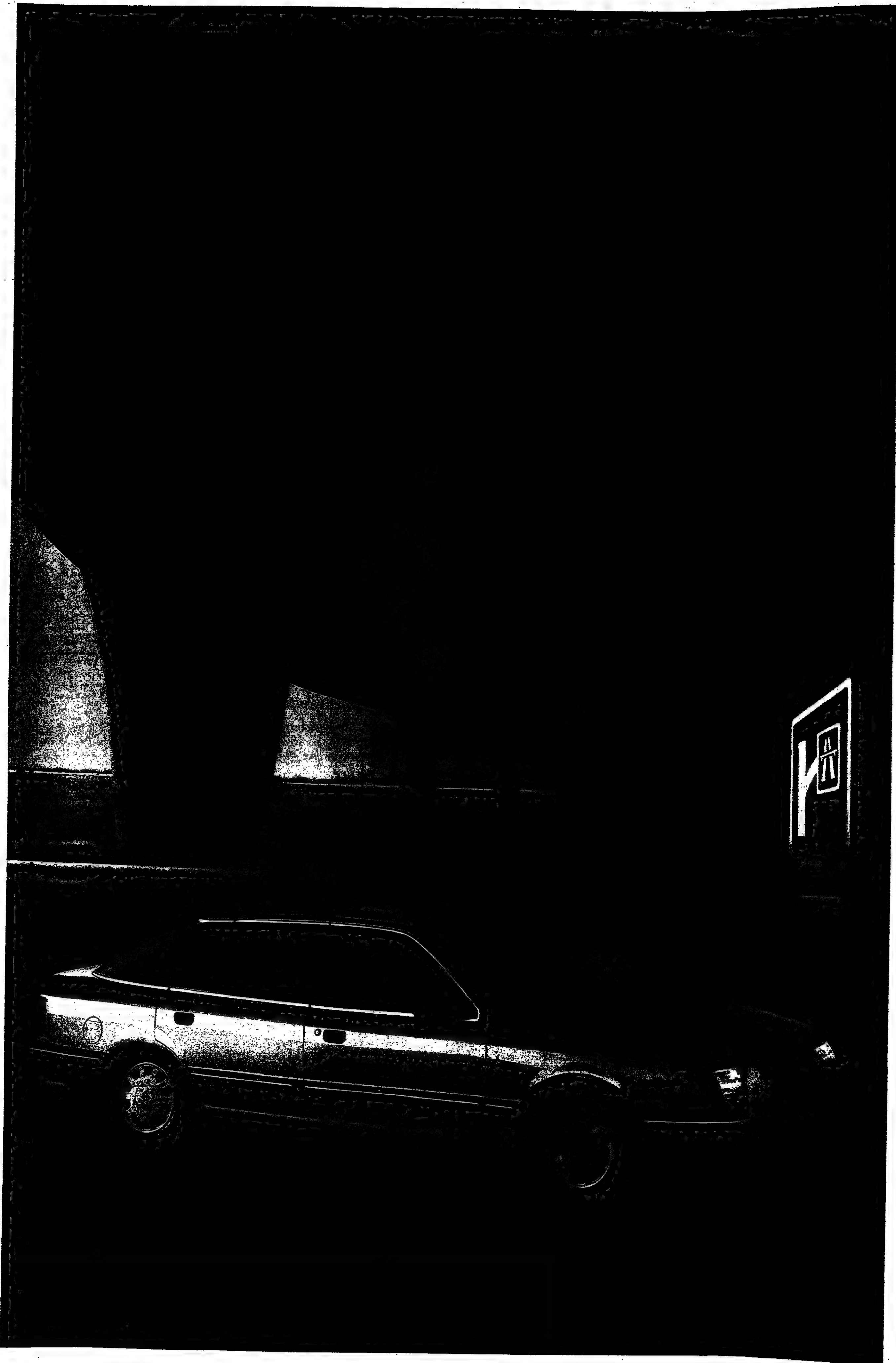
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Val Arnold-Forster reviews the week on radio

## Hearing voices

A BRAVE fellow, Lord Jenkins of Pwllney. There he was, in the Lords' debate on arts funding, bragging about "the golden age of the arts" only a day before his own radio play was broadcast. When You And I Were 17 (Radio 4, Wednesday) was an agreeable little play about young love and ambitions, the will-they-won't-they theme given a slight twist by the early stirrings of sexual liberation.

It was set in the late twenties, neatly produced and performed and awed by autobiographical, with His Lordship playing the narrator, and a sequel to his own earlier play about nascent trade unionism in the church choir. Solo Boy, Good Afternoon Theatre, if hardly "golden", but compared to other politicians' memoirs, a delight.

Idiosyncratic voices always make good radio. Another dollop of historical life in Finlay Macdonald's The Cornflake and the Lyander (Radio 4, Wednesday). As in his earlier tales, he spins an entertaining yarn. But the real pleasure is in hearing Mr Macdonald's oddly foreign-sounding Harris accent, no relation whatsoever to the football-terrace Glaswegian or the Edinburgh pan-loaf accents that more often drift across the border.

Oxford Voices (Radio 4, Tuesday) has a pleasantly chosen title. It was a compilation of Oxford memories and comments from six eminent women graduates: the common link was not so much their age (middle-to-old) or profession (journalist/literary), but their clear-cut, distinguished Oxford accents — the accent of Gown, that is, not Town.

They talked in a similar fashion, too, with that mixture of the intellectually self-confident and the girlishly self-deprecating that marks many successful women — and often shows up in the way they dress. There was the clever girl coping with malicious questions during a viva; another one wondering if she would ever have done any 'or's in a mixed college. They were tolerant, if not noticeably enthusiastic, about male colleagues. "Their jokes are so unbelievably boring" and appreciated the merits of women-only gatherings "no showing-off" and there was a disdainful account of a Gaudy at an ex-women's college, now full of men lecturers. "A rowdy, boring party, throwing buns around... so inappropriate". There were mildly snooty comments on Cambridge... "a little market town, no great reputation in the Middle Ages". "Fearfully, seriously... I can't imagine an Oxford society called 'The Souls' can you?"

A resonant production by Piers Plowright, broken by those typical Oxford sounds of bells and thundering traffic. Good that radio has taken to the charms of these Grand Dames, but I wish someone would remember that we don't all have the memory for voices of an experienced producer.

Nor costumes stale her infinite variety? Michael Billington reports on Chichester's Antony and Cleopatra

## Full Rigg for Cleo

ANTONY and Cleopatra is often thought of as a spectacular epic. It is not: it is an intimate, fast-moving play about the union between what John Wain called "a magnificent barbarian and a product of ordered civilization." In that sense it is ill-suited to Chichester; and one of the problems faced by Robin Phillips's cool, hygienic production is that swift scenic transitions are difficult on the big open stage. A lot of the evening seems to be about the shunting on and off of furniture.

In attempting to give the play focus and intimacy, Daphne Dare has designed a



Dennis Quilley

permanent set of transparent grey screens: beautiful in themselves, they tend to eliminate the vital distinction between Rome and Egypt. The problem is compounded by the crisp, bright, new costumes: in Egypt the women go barefoot and the men frequently sport white jock-strap, but otherwise the place is as resplendent of sultry Oriental mystery as a Copenhagen bath-house.

And in lending the evening pace and urgency (which it admittedly has) Mr Phillips has made some staggering cuts, not least the whole scene aboard Pompey's galley. This eliminates Shakespeare's vision of world leaders in drunken debauch, of the precariousness of power and of the vital contrast between the queasy Caesar and the riotous Antony.

What the evening does have is pictorial elegance: Mr Phillips contrives a neat spotlight juxtaposition of the delectable Enobarbus and the grieving Antony. And there are good bits of business such as the fraternal slap

Antony gives Octavius's cheek after the settling of the marriage contract. But although the production is well-ordered (as you would expect from Mr Phillips after his years at Stratford-on-Avon), it lacks a strong point of view and, in particular, any hint that Antony is surrendering to the druggy, dreamy sensuality of the East. Antony, after all, is the epitome of the refugee from a legalistic world going native.

The performances also fail to underline the collision of two worlds. Diana Rigg's black-maned Cleopatra is appropriately "Riggis": she bites her lover's tongue and caresses her skin with oyster-juice. She also is a witty lady giving a mocking asperity to her cry of "Can Fulvia die?"

But her endless costume-changes (she even turns up for battle in serpentine head-dress and fetching gold corset) suggest that her "infinite variety" stems from her courtesan and one looks in vain for any hint of wild gypsy abandon. Ms Rigg is very good at wrath and levity (she goes into giggles at the idea of Antony marrying a widow) but about her glamorous Alexandrian there is something signally well-bred.

Dennis Quilley brings to Antony a Roman profile, unequivocal virility and, in the later scenes, a nice sense of sagging-kneed despair. It is a sturdy, well-spoken performance and I like the idea of Antony whispering commands to his troops before the battle with Octavius. All I miss is the sense of a man who has made his will lord to his reason and who, by the Nile, becomes an intoxicated dreamer.

But there is an exemplary Enobarbus from Norman Rodway lending his description of Cleopatra excited urgency and looking on in silent dismay at Antony's fatal false optimism; and there is an interestingly youthful Octavius from Philip Franks.

In short, this is a brisk, efficient, faintly Augustan Antony and Cleopatra that rightly strips the play of Cecil B. De Mille's



Glamour queen: Diana Rigg as Cleopatra. Picture by Douglas Jeffery

Richard Rond reports on how Cannes paid its respects to a great French director

## Vivement Truffaut

THE hottest ticket at this year's festival was for Vivement Truffaut (the reference is to the French title of his last film Vivement Dimanche), a montage film directed by Truffaut's son, Claude de Givray, and produced by the 3rd French television channel and the Cannes Festival itself.

The film consists of 20 scenes, extracts from most of his films, plus some television footage of Truffaut at Cannes, an interview with Renoir (who said he was a fan of Truffaut for Jules Et Jim) but the reason for the rush for tickets, and the largest mob of people waiting outside at the end of the film was its all-star cast.

It may seem strange, but live human beings are always the greatest attraction at a film festival. And what a cast: almost every big star made the effort to come to Cannes. A circle of light appeared on the stage before the film began, and lined up on both sides of the stage were Jean-Pierre L  aud, Catherine Deneuve, Gerard Depardieu, Fanny Ardant, Delphine Seyrig, Charles Aznavour, Jean-Pierre Aumont, Charles Denner, Marie Dubois, Claude Jade, Charles Trenet, the singer, composer, and actor. Truffaut often used in his films Jacqueline Bisset, and Alexandra Stewart.

It was a very moving occasion, for the extracts were well chosen, starting out with the Green Room which didn't leave dry eye in the house, but it was also a very strange occasion, for the relationship between Truffaut and the Cannes Film Festival was nothing if not stormy.

His first brush with them came in 1957 when in the now distinct weekly artspectacles, he denounced the festival in terms which were almost libellous, accusing it of shady deals, underhanded tricks and lots of other things. The result was that in 1958 he was not offered a hotel room by the festival.

It was accredited all right (which means he was a bit of a get in to see all the films) but this didn't stop his newspaper from head-lining everyone of his pieces "by

Francois Truffaut, only French journalist excluded from the festival."

His tone didn't change either that year, but the following spring he went to see the president of the festival, Monsieur Robert Favre Le Bret (still very much with us, but now honorary president) and offered him for competition his first feature "The 400 Blows" one might have expected Favre Le Bret to tell him that he knew what he could do with his film.

But no. Favre Le Bret saw it, liked it, and put it into the festival with the result that in 1959 Truffaut won the prize for the best director. In a newsreel clip, included in Vivement Truffaut, Truffaut was asked what he



Francois Truffaut

thought of the decision to run his film. He replied that "it did honour to the festival's sense of objectivity." Indeed it did, and not for the last time.

Truffaut came back in competition in 1964 with Soft Skin, (one of my favourites) but it was not liked and won no prize. The next stage in the stormy relationship occurred in 1968 when Truffaut, along with Godard, L  aud, and a number of French directors literally forced the festival to shut down — in sympathy with the general strike of May, 1968.

That might have been the end of it, but no, in the mid-70's Truffaut was invited back to Cannes to be a member of the jury. And this year, there was Favre Le Bret, the festival's sense of objectivity, as well as an exhibition of photographs of him and his films. All of which goes to show how the Cannes festival, under the diplomatically inspired direction of Robert Favre Le Bret, has managed to survive all these years. It also shows how much Truffaut loved Cannes. And vice versa.

Hugh Hebert on C4's "moving comedy"

## Sisters without mercy

IN THE TV Times they described Sacred Hearts (C4) as a moving comedy, a category that sounds only one degree less certain in its aim than tragic farce. They also said it was about four pregnant girls arriving as evacuees at a convent orphanage as World War II breaks out. You sat back expecting something like Edna O'Brien meets Evelyn Waugh at St Trinian's. But as it turned out that central uncertainty was its main problem: some funny and one or two quite moving ideas stuck together with faith, hope, and Blue Tack.

There were a lot of the usual convent jokes, with Anna Massey in icy form as the sister in charge, sweeping a radar eye across the dormitory: "That's it, girls, knees down, legs together — we don't want to make room for the devil do we?" No mirrors allowed for these budding novices, and in the twin-tubbed bathroom, they bathe modestly in twos and in ankle-length shifts which, I suppose, saves on laundering.

But once mentioned, the pregnancies are totally forgotten and irrelevant to this story, and the writer director Barbara Rennie focuses instead on another new rival, Doris (Kathrin Cartledge) who is not pregnant and she confides to her friend Maggie, not even Catholic.

She is the daughter of German refugees with brother still somewhere under Hitler's thumb. She thinks her only hope, as the Pampers roll towards the Channel, is to convert to Catholicism and fade into the convent. Meanwhile her private life is a mess: her religion and a Pope who declines to speak out against fascism destroys her friend's own faith.

Easy to mock, maybe, but this seems to me a theme of intense poignancy. The uncertainty was in the way this was mixed with routine cloister humour and puzzles like those unripening pregnancies. It looked fine, aimed by Diane Tammes, with touching, rather than moving, performances all round, especially from Oona Kirey as Maggie with her wonderful victim's face.

### CARDIFF

David Adams

### Cherry Orchard

GIVEN that Chekhov is quite impossible for all but a handful of companies, the Sherman Arena has not done a bad job with Susan Mair's production of The Cherry Orchard. Certainly there is a fairly clear idea for most of the performance, although the exceptionally difficult second act, "theme for voices" does

sag notably. A bright start establishes the modern interpretation of Chekhov as light and genuinely funny, perhaps not as farcical as more radical reclamations from Stanislavskyan style, but fresh and honest.

A bubbly, bright-eyed Anya from Judith Lee, a distant and aristocratic Ranyevskaya from Diane Smith and a blunt northern-accented Lopakhin from Dave Wagner are forthright interpretations that set the tone.

John Taggart's Gavev and Russell Davies's Trofimov perhaps try to do a lot more and while their performance reveal their promise and developing skill as actors they are a little too man-

nered for a production that allows a fair bit of individualism but not enough, generally speaking, to put the whole thing at risk.

Jan Faulkner's design works well, too, with an all-encompassing white veil rising and descending at the beginning and end. Such a device was effective but, like the too sympathetic Trofimov, raised some ambiguity in an otherwise simple interpretation. Just how to take Chekhov politically is but one of the many problems for a group like the Arena company that mixes professional with theatre students; the unresolved question put by the author often looks as if it has not been considered.

That vacuum and the lack of cohesion in the middle of the play, however, could easily have been compounded by more failings; that the production as a whole holds the attention and goes some way to revealing the text is no mean achievement.

LIVERPOOL  
Gerald Lerner

### RLPO

A GOOD subsidy can persuade an orchestra to embark on a brave venture, but it cannot guarantee success.

Valuable support from the Meos Trust enabled the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra to give the first British performance outside London of Harrison Birtwistle's Nones — a work to which no other orchestra has applied itself since the BBC Symphony introduced it at a Prom more than 20 years ago.

But what could explain the look-alike seating arrangement on the platform of the Philharmonic Hall? True, violins are not included in the score, but that surely doesn't mean that the violas and cellos have to be concentrated on the right, opposite empty chairs and stands on the left, and be denied the advantage of a central position.

As for the electronic element — an amplified wind quartet which sits apart from the rest of the orchestra — it was so discreetly engineered that, until near the end, it failed to make its distinctive point. It is certainly not intended to dominate the orchestra but it is a separate sound source and he heard as such. Perhaps it would have been better to put the wind quartet and its loudspeakers in front of the orchestra rather than behind it.

Perhaps all this amounts to no more than an excuse for my own failure to get the sound in focus, to hear it in perspective, to put all the different strands of the slow moving material in some kind of order. Obviously some events — like the outburst of violence in the middle and the lovely little lyrical episode — could be registered in all clarity.

On the other hand, this performance, in spite of its evidently careful preparation, did confirm the feeling that Birtwistle did much the same thing more effectively in the Triumph of Time a few years later.

For those members of the audience who were not pleased by Nones, Michael Schonwandt conducted a splendidly dramatic interpretation of Nielsen's Fourth Symphony — in a strange mixture of delightful subtleties and reckless upheavals — and Howard Shelley gave a finely detailed performance of Beethoven's fourth piano concerto. Shelley's fidelity to the letter of the

score could never be mistaken for pedantry when the colouring is so meaningful and the precision so stylish.

BRISTOL  
David Foot

### English Garden

IT IS not as bad as everyone seemed to be saying it was. A Bloody English Garden, presented by Bristol Express in conjunction for the first time with the Bristol Old Vic, is for more than half the time very good indeed.

There is a genuine attempt by the writer, Nick Fisher, in this premiered play at the New Vic to dramatise with intelligence and some insight a dialogue between the young and the old. Unfortunately he is apt to show his immaturity as a writer for the theatre — and, in addition, the piece runs to an inordinate length.

He plays about episodically with time: the Thirties, dancing to Oscar Rabin, naval warfare in the Mediterranean, and the manifestations of punk anarchy. It is hard to see why the director, Andy Jordan, has not been detached enough to chop the play by at least half an hour. The B-picture under-water scenes, which lacked only Attenborough and Hawkins, are an odd intrusion that tampers with the mood of the play. The passing study of theft in the context of poverty leaves us uneasy.

Have we ever seen a drama with so much business, much of it horticultural? It becomes an indulgence to be relished by landscape gardeners rather than theatregoers, and some of the refuse collecting is as embarrassingly superfluous as the overworked obscenity. But segments of the writing are perceptive and ultimately moving — though some of the human development is backneyed and sentimental. Mary Sheen, as the "old biddy", and Richard Graham, Neil Packman and Stephen Jameson as the strident punks on a community service scheme are truthfully observed.

### COLIN WELCH

revisits Germany:

"The baroque garrison church at Fousdam was also removed as an obstruction to traffic. What traffic? The odd Russian convoy? An ambulance? A few old men pushing handcars over the cobbles? What was unsafe and obstructive to communism was not buildings, but memories."

### SHIVA NAIPAUL

on the Third World:

"Blandly to subsume, say, Ethiopia, India and Brazil under the one banner of Third Worldhood is as absurd and denigrating as the old assertion that all Chinese look alike. People only look alike when you can't be bothered to look at them closely."

### A.M. DANIELS

A doctor confesses:

"In general I try not to kill my patients, whatever their moral failings or my personal inclinations. And as a rule, with one or two exceptions, I have succeeded in this (for a doctor) modest aim."

### JEFFREY BERNARD

on eyes:

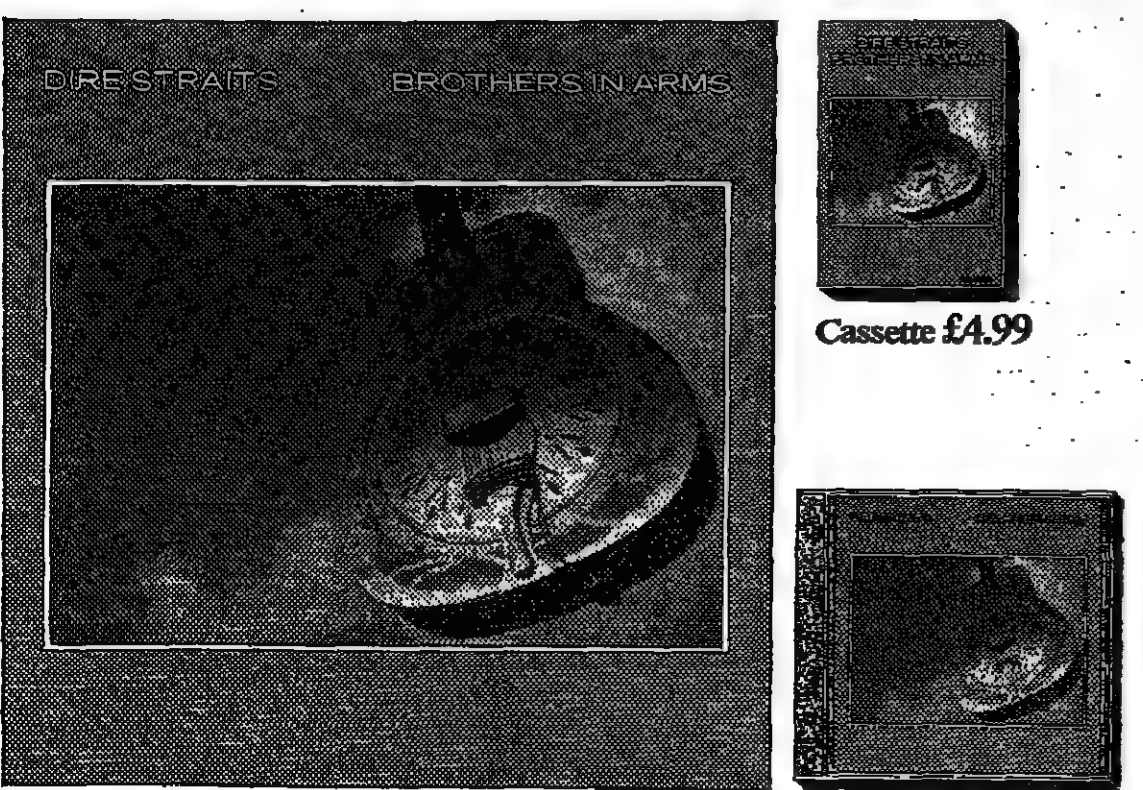
"Women have got a funny thing about eyes. Windows of the soul say some poets but records of the past say I."

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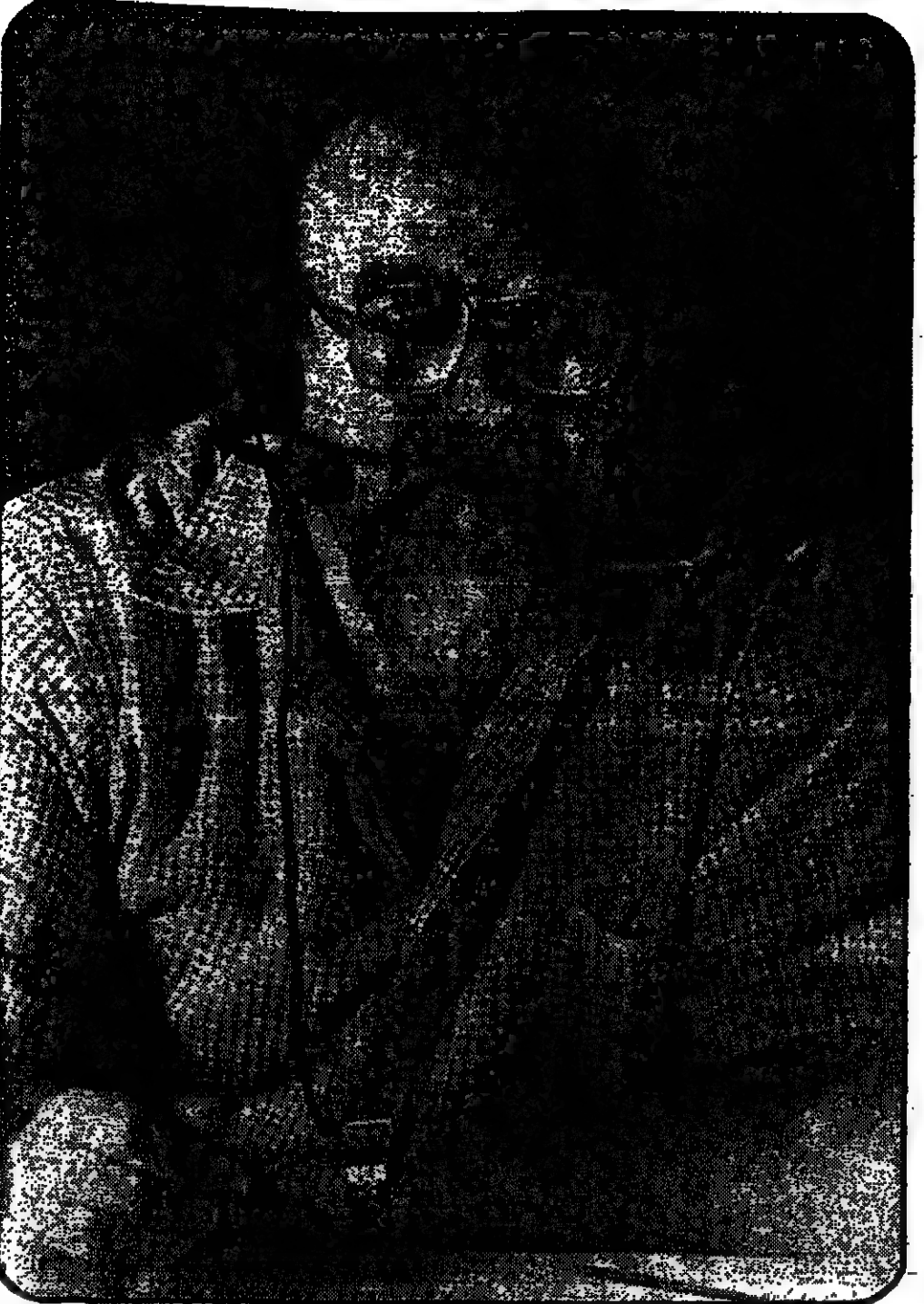
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# STAGE GUARDIAN



Die—John Bury, left, and set for Glyndebourne's *Carmen*, not three. Pictures by E. Hamilton West.

John Bury, champion of operatic simplicity, talks to Waldemar Januszczak about his new settings for Glyndebourne

## Carmen in the raw

CASTING her eye over the gleaming white, wisteria-covered walls of Seville, the muse of opera presumably fell in love with the place. Why else would she have returned here so often and made this the most famous setting in her kingdom?

It was outside Dr Bartolo's house in Seville that Rossini's barber boasted of being the busiest man in town. It was in Seville that Mozart's incorrigible rone, Don Giovanni, received his comeuppance. It was in Seville that Figaro loved Susanna. And of course, it was in Seville that the Gipsy temptress, Carmen, first flattered her eyes and then seduced her.

But with the arrival of the John Bury set, the Spanish tummy, and died after only two days. He had gone on a reconnaissance mission, having been asked to design two productions of *Carmen* simultaneously—one for the Metropolitan in New York, and the other for Glyndebourne, where he and Peter Hall have become almost sitting tenants since their first collaboration on *Callisto* 15 seasons ago.

Bury's *Carmen* will be the tenth production he has designed there, breaking the record for any designer.

The approaches of these two busy men who have regulated Glyndebourne's appearance for over 30 years could hardly have been more different. Under Messel the Glyndebourne stage was clearly press-ganged into the effort to forget the war. Messel dealt in delicate rococo fantasies, French 18th century watercolours come to life. Writing last year during Glyndebourne's fiftieth anniversary celebrations, that inveterate bon vivant, Sir Roy Strong, made it quite clear where his preferences lay. What opera audiences expect from their designer, he trilled, is "enchantment, delight, spectacle and wit." Messel was paid the Roy Strong supreme compliment: "Marie Antoinette would have felt at home in any of his settings."

But it is not for the challenge he threw down last year in today's new generation of ultra-camp designers that John Bury will be remembered. Throughout his career, which began just after the war, as a lighting engineer for Joan Littlewood's radical Stratford East Theatre, Bury has championed simplicity rather than excess. His main achievement as a designer of operas has been the stripping away of most of that thick make-up in which the stage

secret forest he created for Britten's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, where the moonlight tip-toed through the trees and all was magical and insubstantial. Even the let them eat cakes brigade had to admire Bury's versatility after that one.

There was nothing humdrum either about the decadent Roman palace which Bury designed last year for Maria Wing's *Poppaea*. Claudius himself would have approved. High on a pedestal in the middle of the stage a pair of bronze satyrs spent the entire performance copulating vigorously. The action spilled out into the frescoes on the palace walls, and the audience at Glyndebourne was treated to a feast of furious love-making the like of which it had never seen before. Clearly something had changed in the Welfare State.

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was caked, revealing a more convincing, more human drama hiding underneath.

His 1973 *Marriage of Figaro* was set in the house of an aristocrat who had clearly fallen on hard times: "All you had was a down-at-heel Count whose valets obviously had the run of the house. Something like Glyndebourne out of season. Don Giovanni's frantic womanising becomes a question of necessity rather than invention when he comes home on his own to a bowl of pasta on the table."

In earlier productions of Monteverdi's *Callisto* and *Ulysses*, Bury allowed the mechanics of the set to stand revealed. If Marie Antoinette had wandered on to the stage for *Ulysses* she would have had to climb up a stark central gangplank, up into a clockwork heaven, across which the gods whirled backwards and forwards in clanking chariots. It was fantastic, other-worldly, but it was done by removing the artificial skin of the stage rather than adding to it.

The new set for *Carmen* is probably the most "realistic" Bury has yet made. In the first act, we are in a small market square, squeezed between the tobacco factory and some tall, crumbling town houses. A giant drainpipe is the main feature of the tobacco factory's wall. Everything looks

old, worn, warm, and natural, a convincing setting for a small-town love affair.

And yet there is something about the strong geometry of this place, something about the insistent three-dimensionality of the buildings (carefully achieved with subtle exaggerations of perspective which seems noble rather than seedy. We are watching the elevation of everyday life, not the degradation of high opera).

Bury still does all his own lighting. "In the old days we lit from the front. Now we light from behind. That gives form and shape, a sense of space." In this realisation of a quiet corner of Seville, the lighting takes the action out of the relentless noon sunlight of Rossini's film into a more elusive hour of the day. It also gives Maria Ewing more psychological room in which to manoeuvre her Carmen.

The effect of all this stripping away of alienation devices and obvious artifice on stage is that the spectator's emotions can be engaged more directly. The spotlight moves from the setting to the performer, from the make-up to the human being underneath. Opera begins to aspire to the condition of theatre in the round. And the tiny Glyndebourne stage suddenly seems many times its former size.

## BRIEFING THEATRE

CHICAGO'S Wisdom Bridge Theatre brings in *The Belly Of The Beast: Letters From Prison*, devised and directed by Robert Falls, to the Lyric Studio as part of the American Festival. Deborah Kerr stars at the Old Vic in revival of Emyl Williams's *The Corn Is Green*, specially mounted to mark the dramatist's 50th birthday. Tennessee Williams's *The Glass Menagerie* is revived at Greenwich Theatre with Constance Cummings, Boris Fuller and Gerard Murphy in an Alan Strachan production. Jonathan Gens's *Susan's Breasts*, dealing with a group of "upwardly mobile young funsters" opens at the Royal Court Theatre Upstairs in a Mike Bradwell production. Buchner's *Woyzeck* comes to the Almeida as part of the Leicester Haymarket Studio Company's season. John Barton's RSC production of *Granville Barker's Waste* moves into the Lyric Shaftesbury Avenue with Daniel Massey and Judi Dench. *Swimming to Cambodia*, written and performed by Spalding Gray and based on his experience in *The Killing Fields*, comes to the ICA. Bill Bryden's Cottesloe production of *The Mysterium* moves tomorrow into the Lyceum in a day-long presentation.

**Recommended**  
Pravda (Olivier: Friday, Saturday); Anthony Hopkins as the demon buyer of Fleet Street in Brenton and Hare's scathing comedy.  
Two Into One (Shaftesbury): Andrew Gower and Michael Williams currently at the helm in Coney's classic farce.

Michael Billington

## OPERA

GLYNDEBOURNE opens with *Cenerentola* (Monday, Wednesday, next Friday) in the jovial John Cox staging. James Judd conducts, with Carolyn Watkinson, Sesto Bruscantini, Alessandro Carbelli, and Robert Gambrell. The first new production is Peter Hall's *Carmen* (Tuesday, tomorrow week), designed by John Bury and conducted by Bernard Haitink. Maria Ewing is the title role, with Barry McCauley, Marie McLaughlin, and David Holloway. Lucia di Lammermoor (Covent Garden Monday, Thursday), Lucia Aliberti and Luis Lima, instead of Sutherland and Bergonzi, and Roberto Scanduzzi as Raimondo. Samson et Dalila (Covent Garden tonight, Wednesday, tomorrow week) Domingo and Balta for the first time, in a lively combination, and Colin Davis again conducting the Saint-Saens farago.

Madam Butterfly (Coliseum tonight, Thursday), Graham Vick's remarkable staging, led by Janice Cairns and Rowland Siewell. John Mauceri is the marvellous conductor. Rigoletto (Cardiff tomorrow, Tuesday, next Friday). Extraordinary but not excess-

sive Pintilie new staging, with Dennis O'Neill, Armstrong conducting.

Orlando (Glasgow tomorrow, Newcastle Thursday). Imaginative Fettes staging, with Eric Ian Spink movement. Cast led by James Bowman, Eiddwen Harry, Lillian Watson. Hickox conducts.

Tom Sutcliffe

## DANCE

THE programme change at Sadler's Wells tonight for the Merce Cunningham Dance Company brings Doubles and Quartet, and repeats the wonderful new work, *Pictures*. Next Monday, Trails and Native Green are new to London and Phoenix repeats. The season ends on May 23. Sadler's Wells Royal Ballet ends its Covent Garden season tomorrow night with Swan Lake (Samsonev / Juriens, with the Swedish dancer Peter Jacobson) and on Monday opens a three-week season in The Big Top. Milton Keynes. The Sleeping Beauty will be given there all next week, various casts.

The American Festival dance events continue at the Bloomsbury Theatre with programme changes in A Bite of the Big Apple. The Joel Hall Dancers from Chicago can be seen at the Albany Empire from next Wednesday until Saturday.

Next week, London Contemporary Dance Theatre will be at the Marlowe Theatre, Canterbury, and Scottish Ballet at the Theatre Royal, Glasgow.

Mary Clarke

## ROCK

Ricky Skaggs, Matlock Bath Pavilion (tonight), London Dominion Theatre (Saturday, Sunday), Dublin National Stadium (Monday), Edinburgh Playhouse (Thursday).

The Exiles, Hammersmith Odeon (tonight). Yet another L.A. band—slow, psychedelic dirges Zuma-period Neil Young. Lone Justice: Manchester Polytechnic (Monday), Warwick University (Tuesday), Harlesden Mean Fiddler (Wednesday). A "new country" combo boasting one of the strongest female voices of the Eighties: The Value Of Entertainment: The Art Of Noise/Propaganda / Instinct / Andrew Poppy / Anne Pigalle). London Ambassador's Theatre (Monday to June 1). A grand showcase for the other diverse acts on the Frankie Goes To Hollywood label ZTT. New Model Army: Exeter St. George's Hall (tonight), Milton Keynes Wroughton Centre (Saturday), Stoke King's Hall (tonight), Hull Tower Ballroom (Tuesday). Bradford trio sounding like a herd of buffalo with guitars. The Exiles, Birmingham University (tonight), Coventry Lanchester Polytechnic (Saturday), Peterborough Key Theatre (Sunday), Manchester Hacienda (Thursday). Roxy Music's Andy MacKay and Phil Manzanera with a Bryan Ferry soundtrack. Ashford & Simpson: Hammersmith Odeon (Monday, Tuesday). Songwriting marriage made in heaven still solid as a rock.

Barney Hoskyns

## Great force of nature

EVEN in a city of obsessed achievers, of citizens she herself regards as extraordinary, Glenda Jackson stands out. As Nina Everywoman in a revival of Eugene O'Neill's "Strange Interlude" transferred from London, she dominates the Broadway season with a towering portrayal that was all the more remarkable for being in O'Neill's own backyard.

Even American actresses envious of this Englishwoman's opportunity to play one of the great modern American female roles had to acknowledge her astonishing success. Acceptably American even in New York, not through any easy tape recorder imitation but through her own "voluble and energetic" ability to impersonate, she spent both physically and mentally with the utmost conviction during the play's four hours and 55 minutes and managed the daunting O'Neill soliloquies and asides with apparent ease.

I asked her about the difference playing Nina in London and New York. "The size of the Broadway theatre affected it," she said. "The proscenium arch is so much wider. In London you could play the whole house on

about three angles, but in here you almost have to use a spritzing technique. You mustn't let people think you are speaking directly to them, so you can't linger. Then all actors are longer in New York so your timing is affected. Americans carry on so much more than they like to laugh sometimes to a near hysterical degree and you have to allow for that in your timing."

In spite of the usual short TV span of concentration, this very long play held audiences. That's a tribute to O'Neill. He gets audiences by the scruff of the neck and won't let them go. He is criticised for being repetitious, but I think audiences recognise that quality in themselves. He shows that most of us are locked into ourselves.

This is the third time she has performed in New York, which she regards as a great place to be if you are a success, but a hard place to live in if you aren't. As for Broadway, its whole system she described as "pernicious."

She is to do *Phedre* next in London but there was difficulty in finding the right theatre because it needed a revolving stage, and as the West End was booming, there



Glenda Jackson in *Strange Interlude*. Picture by Douglas Jeffery

were't as many theatres available. She was also considering one or two film scripts. "One trouble is dramatic today seldom write parts for women over 40 and as far as film-makers are concerned, a woman's face is less interesting as she gets older."

"If I had a choice, I'd hope for a play from Edward Bond. Then there's Charles Wood. John Osborne? I'm not really a great fan. I thought 'Epiphany' for George Dillon was his best." Mr Osborne has some-

## W. J. Weatherby meets Glenda Jackson after her Broadway triumph

with great feeling about the slow death of Liverpool, the growing division between north and south England, and unemployment. Undoubtedly, in her eyes, Mrs Thatcher was to blame. She had felt strangely homesick and cut off in New York because the American papers' view of England was so bizarre, perhaps because their own country was so vast it was hard even to know much about their own land. "There is the view that if you're not an American, you're an alien from almost a different galaxy. In fact, when I try to read the New York papers, I always feel England must be a fragment of my imagination."

I asked if she would again actively campaign for the Labour Party in the next election. "Yes, but don't get the wrong idea. I'm not out there on the hustings if I'm not free to do it. I'm working, that is still my special primary responsibility." But she believed you should always vote, a radical notion in the United States where only roughly half the voters vote even in the presidential election. Knowing I had been acquainted with Eugene O'Neill's widow, Carlotta, she asked me to accompany her to

hear tapes of Carlotta being interviewed by Arthur and Barbara Gelb, who wrote the standard O'Neill biography. Carlotta was said to have been O'Neill's model for Nina so it was fascinating to watch Miss Jackson reacting to O'Neill's original, as the late Carlotta reminded on the tapes about her husband. I told a story about Carlotta's account of meeting Tennessee Williams and this led to a mention of Marlon Brando who Miss Jackson, grinning mischievously, called "a force of nature."

"There are not many forces of nature about today. Lots of marvellous actors and actresses of course, but I suppose there have been only two like that in my lifetime, Brando and Garbo. That kind of talent is like an act of God. The trouble is if you're that talented, you are that much more vulnerable."

When you see this great actress at work every night, it is tempting to see her as a force of nature, too. Broadway will miss her, and her spry-gymnastic technique.

Ricky Skaggs, bluegrass music's hottest property, talks to John Collis about his success

## Beefing up the country soup

"WHAT I'm trying to do is put the meat and potatoes back into country music. And this western country music is going on isn't country. Let's get a little beef stock back into the soup."

If 30-year-old Ricky Skaggs was just another Music Row hopeful peddling his dreams in Nashville, the sentiments would be none the less laudable. We'd nod in sympathy, and know he didn't stand a chance. As pure mountain voices follow in Dolly Parton's wake, heading for Las Vegas as fast as their tonsils can carry them, to try to take a stand against the cabaret trend could be just a doomed fantasy.

The surprising thing is that Skaggs, self-appointed keeper of the faith, is country music's hottest act in years. And not just in the country charts, where he can take No. 1 singles and gold albums for granted.

"My music seems to have a following among punks, new-wave, rockabilles... to me, it doesn't have boundaries. I've had 14-year-old Japanese fans coming up to me with a mandolin, playing one of my solos note-for-note. I've played to Buddhists and Hindus, and they don't just sit politely, they have to get involved. Music can bring together people who are miles apart spiritually, religiously, politically."

In informed British music circles, to confess a liking for country music was until recently something of a socialist. Music is now style, and country artists



Fingerpicking good—Ricky Skaggs

included—do tend to go to the wrong hairdresser. And those "meat and potatoes" have often been a little hard to find on the menu: too much country, offers either cornpone sentimentality without any stiffening of wit or irony, brilliant but sterile technique (a trap that Skaggs's native style, bluegrass, can fall into), or the string-drenched, formula-written pap of a music that is trying to replace a bygone image with one of sophistication. Losing its heart along the way.

But Skaggs, almost single-handedly making country music hip again—in a way it hasn't enjoyed since the heyday of his former colleague Emmylou Harris—hasn't revolutionised country. He has simply taken the front-porch music of his childhood, added such alien instruments as bass, drums, piano and sentimentality, given the results a contemporary pro-

duction gloss of his own, and watched himself turn into a phenomenon.

He did say "front porch" by the way—I always thought these chaps played on the back porch. Perhaps it depends on which side of the mountain you live.

I grew up in eastern Kentucky. It was very mountain, very rural. I started playing music when I was five—my father bought me a mandolin. And my first paid gig was when I was seven, playing with Flatt and Scruggs on a syndicated TV show. Since Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs are to bluegrass music what Elvis Presley is to rock'n'roll, Skaggs was clearly something of an infant prodigy. Two years earlier, indeed, he'd totered onstage at a Bill Monroe concert and borrowed the mandolin virtuoso's instrument for a precious guest spot.

"I started playing guitar when I was nine. My father was out of the house, and I stole his guitar from the closet. I'd watched what he did with his fingers, so I sat in front of the mirror and tried to copy him."

A period out of the music business followed—the rootless, strenuous life on the road can defeat anyone, let alone a God-fearing teenager from the backwoods—but Skaggs was drawn back in. He played with a succession of groups, and in 1977 Emmylou Harris asked him to join her Hot Band, the outstanding country-rock purveyors of the time.

His experience with such musicians as James Burton—the guitarist who had turned Ricky Nelson's records into their own—was a revelation, and given a bit of class to post-punkish Elvis—showed Skaggs how the music of his childhood could borrow a little of the rock'n'roll "beef stock" without betraying its roots.

Skaggs returned to Nashville with his "new country" vision. "No-one would give me a chance until Epic even- tually said yes. They'd checked me out, and I was confident they wouldn't try to change me."

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PREVIEWS FROM JUNE 6  
OPENS FROM JUNE 12



Hamish McRae

**THE LABOUR** Party's proposal to nationalise Investors in Industry will be seen in the city as another example of the party's preoccupation with nationalisation as a

The proposition that 3i is doing terribly well and ought to get a lot more money, on the face of it makes a great deal of sense. It is part na-

front that opposition, but there is a price for doing so. There would probably be some managerial opposition. There would be dangers of political interference.

**THE PLUNGE** in the profits of Micro Focus, and the equally spectacular plunge in the share price, will cause

glamour profit growth. The figures now produced relate to trading which ended last year. Had it been able to explain to the market, say, with a note of caution a cou-

Everyone suffers, except those sceptics who remind us that after every boom follows a slump. The City never had much of a love affair with hitech, but such as it was it is truly over now.

The deal only really makes sense in strategic terms, as the start of some longer-term

a certain self-confidence is nothing more. Having the new subsidiary creates an opportunity for profit at minimal risk.

members' agents, who directly represent names' interests at Lloyd's, paying 30 per cent of the costs of the loan, and the names' agents, who decide whether they will agree to this.

Spicer & White argue that the offer is the practical way for names to meet their expenses and that the lion's share of the interest charges on the loan are being met by the names. Spicer & White say the offer is likely to be most attractive to names who cannot afford to pay the £25,000 cash call without the loan and who would otherwise have to raise the cash. The headline for that is the end of the month although there is some pressure for a two month extension to the deadline.

Lloyd's has agreed to the deal in the name of the PCW members.

ent Office has earmarked £10 million of funds for the venture and City institutions supporting the deal include M & A Investors In Industry and Coare Govett.

Mr Bristow, who is bidding for a share for Westland, says that his own company is not at the new management will seek to cut the firm's borrowing, step up efforts to sell the existing Sea King and Lynx helicopters and accelerate the development of the Anglo-Italian Europrop engine.

It is also disclosed that Mr Bristow will take out a five year contract at £110,000 a year.

But there are no comments on the document about the future levels of staffing at Westland if Bristow's takeover succeeds with the bid.

ness at over \$30 million. The exchange, which is linked up with the Philadelphia Stock Exchange, hopes eventually to develop a 24-hour round the world market. Having set up the market in just 50 working days it is confident it can beat off the other potential rivals.

Prototypes of the Liberator have been undergoing trials with the CCGA, and Thorn EMI — nowadays clearly the most enterprising of Britain's big information technology groups — has set up a production line at Truroch, South Wales.

**THE AMERICAN** securities firm, Prudential-Bache, is putting £7.5 million loan stock into the City bill broker, Clive Discount, and going into partnership with it in the new gilts market being set up in London. (Peter Rodgers writes).

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st employees on expense accounts was the automotive, followed by oil and finance. Breaking down the expenditure, American Express found that firms spent \$4.3 billion on airline fares and a similar sum on petrol. Hotels and meals added \$4.2 billion and "business entertaining" took another \$2.1 billion. Predictably,

e Congressional economist  
nceded: "If they did drop it  
ey would be saying they  
nt the markets to know they  
e pursuing an easier mone-

vestment Board did not reflect fairly the full range of financial services it will regulate. It has appointed Mr. Christopher Sharp, managing director of the Newcastle-based Northern Rock Building Society, to the 11-strong committee.

The appointment of the committee, and particularly the choice of Mr Mark Weinberg of Hambro Life, as chairman, drew fierce criticism. Many felt that the members had been selected from the cut-throat of the life assurance business and that vital sectors such as building societies, unit trusts, and broker-based life offices, had been excluded.

Department of Trade and Industry, was successfully inserted during the Bill's Commons' committee stage yesterday. It was subsequently accepted in principle by the government.

**LEGAL** protection for borrowers comes into force on Sunday when the Consumer Credit Act completes an 11-year transition onto the statute book. Weekend Money tomorrow explains what rights customers buying on credit will have.



## Attack on tour operators' practice

By Rosemary Collins

Tour operators fail to honour their contracts with holidaymakers when they "consolidate" bookings, thereby altering flights and hotels, sometimes even at short notice in order to avoid flying half-filled aircraft, a leading rebel of the travel industry claimed yesterday.

Mr Ken Scott, of Ickleton Consumer Co-op, whose complaints have already prompted investigation of several big travel companies' activities by the Office of Fair Trading, is now appealing to the Minister for Consumer Affairs "to look into this altogether situation."

"After all, if the travelling consumer attempts to cancel his part of the contract two weeks before he is due to depart he will lose 60 per cent of what he has paid under the booking contract with the tour operator," Mr Scott said.

In his own travel agency at Ickleton Consumer Co-op, 1511, bookings have already been consolidated by tour operators in the past eight weeks of the 1985 season, Mr Scott said. In some cases families have been asked to fly out three days earlier or four days later than originally booked. Flights have been switched at short notice from East Midlands airport to Gatwick or Birmingham, and some families travelling with young children have been obliged to begin travelling around midnight in order to catch revised flights, when they had originally booked confirmed holidays which avoided this inconvenience.

"In other cases, a booking made, possibly in October or November and merely to say that if the customer is not happy he can have his money back, is not sufficient," Mr Scott said.

"Whether there is only one passenger travelling on an aircraft or not, and it is running at a dead loss to the operator, the booked and confirmed holiday arrangement is a binding contract and should stand."

Mr Scott predicted that the wider than usual range of holidays and flights offered in 1985, coupled with a drop in the volume of advance bookings, would lead to widespread consolidation of holidays throughout the next few months.

## British group set up to monitor CoCom pact

By John Hooper, Trade Correspondent

The British Computer Society announced yesterday that it had set up a special group to monitor the implementation of the latest agreement of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (CoCom). The society is worried that the agreement could lead to restrictions on the activities — and even the movements — of British academics and computer experts.

Last July, CoCom — the secretive Paris-based committee which vets East-West trade in technology — completed its latest list of embargoed items, for the first time, it included software as well as hardware and the society is concerned that it could be interpreted as encompassing "know-how" in the widest sense, including the knowledge that people carry around in their heads.

The British order implementing the CoCom agreement is due to come into force at the beginning of next month and one of the tasks of the new body is to try to influence the drafting of that order. The society has already written to the Trade and Industry Secretary, Mr Norman Tebbit, asking for clarification of the CoCom deal, but has not yet received a reply.

However, the computer profession in this country has already begun to experience difficulties as a result of tighter rules imposed by the Americans.

## Rewards for workers in a share economy

DR DAVID OWEN, the Social Democrat leader, called last night for a radical rethink about the relationship between the public and private sectors of the economy, and set out his own thoughts on employee participation in the firms in which they worked.

In a speech called "Ownership, delivered at Nottingham University as the 1985 Gaiskell Memorial Lecture, Dr Owen laid

out a long critique of Labour and Conservative attitudes towards public and private ownership. Labour, he said, was still haunted by "class fear" (widespread nationalisation), while the government had dogmatic reservations about remaining in the public sector at all.

The Social Democrats' social market approach, Dr Owen went on, rejected the

mixed thinking which paraded as the mixed economy. It was concerned that public services should not be expected to behave as profit-making enterprises and equally concerned that private enterprise should be encouraged to grow as competitive industry.

Then, drawing on the thinking of the American economist, Martin Weitzman, Dr Owen laid out his ideas for new forms of

partnership and participation in industry. This should take the form of a "share economy": "In other words a substantial part of the average person's take-home pay should be expressed not as a regular wage but as a share of the profit earned or value added in the company to which he or she has contributed."

The following is an extract

AN EXPERIMENTAL first move of some substance need not be prohibitively expensive for government. In the first place it would probably be limited to corporate employment, excluding the small business, the self-employed and the public services. Thus it might cover about half of total employment.

Let us suppose that an income tax rate of 20 per cent instead of the normal 30 per cent, is to be charged on profit-related bonuses up to a maximum of 20 per cent of total pay. Then assume the take-up rate is initially only 50 per cent. On these assumptions, the gross cost is less than 2 per cent of all income tax now levied on employees, or say \$500 million to £1 billion per annum, about the size of the Chancellor's "fiscal adjustment" in the spring 1985 budget.

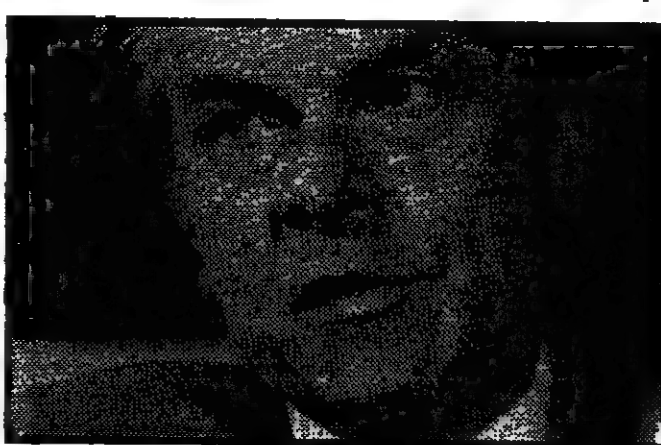
The modest take-up of the modest benefits of the 1978 profit-sharing scheme — with between 300,000 and 400,000 workers covered today, still fewer than 2 per cent of all employees — is a reminder of the necessity for real breakthrough: any tax concession must ensure that the profit business, and employee shares, and labour/capital share certificates be-

come a significant part of each individual's total remuneration.

It is realistic to assume that, particularly in the early years of a new share system, a large proportion of workers will wish to take all or most of the capital component of their remuneration as immediately spendable income each year. Lower paid workers, for instance, do not have enough income left over at the end of the week or month to enjoy the option of saving. Hence, the first tier of a new tax incentive structure might be the option to take all or part of one's profit- or capital-share as a tax-reduced cash bonus.

A useful model would be the John Lewis Partnership, where all the profits go to the worker-members, or "partners." In 1983/4, the partnership bonus of £25 million was up by 48 per cent and was 23 per cent of the pay of the 25,000 worker-members of John Lewis.

The second tier could be more ambitious: encouragement to workers to retain as much as they can of their profit-shares to grow as company equity. The first tier could build on the profit-sharing scheme established under the 1978 Finance Act.



Dr Owen: three tiers of incentives

The second tier could build on Save-As-You-Earn share option schemes: the money would be held in, say, a building society or bank savings account. After a fixed number of years, or at intervals such as apply to equity warrants, the individual could choose between taking the money in the form of shares or, if the share price had not done well, as a cashable building society or bank savings account. The longer the employee delays taking his profit, the greater the likelihood of capital gain. It might be appropriate to

increase the incentive the longer the employee holds the shares and increases his individual stake in the equity.

Tax concessions which enable companies to give shares to their employees free, or at a reduced rate, of income tax should be linked to a corresponding reduction in corporation tax in 1982 a green paper was published on the creation of a new form of industrial enterprise to be called an "incorporated partnership" but nothing was done subsequently.

A further reduction in corporation tax designed to encourage the conversion of companies to an incorporated partnership basis, with shareholders getting higher but limited dividends, could lead to employees gradually becoming the part-owners of the productive resources with which they work both through investment and through bonus share issues: i.e. an "explicit link" should be established between increases in company dividends and the issue of bonus shares to employees, followed by corporation tax changes designed to encourage new forms of partnership.

200 employees or more to become available to small investors at reduced margins and lower premiums paid. The attraction of investing in unit trusts would be the wider spread of equities, the daily research, the administration carried out by the trust managers and the simplicity, for the investor, of the whole scheme.

In Germany for instance, lower income citizens can purchase shares at up to 50 per cent discount on the market price, provided they hold them for six years in a savings fund or pension scheme. It is entirely possible that the UK unit trust system could be adapted in this way, taking the German system of tax relief on share price discounting as a useful model.

For the individual worker, the prospect of annual cash bonuses and/or a growing share of the capital value of their company in particular and UK industry in general would gradually give them the equivalent of a "second wage": that would initiate the era which Crosland anticipated over 20 years ago and termed "the two-wage worker"—the person paid for his labour but also enjoying personal share ownership and dividends on a significant scale.

## A B.A.T Industries Report

Extracts from the Chairman's Speech at the Annual General Meeting

# "I expect the Group to make further progress in profits"

Patrick Sheehy, Chairman  
B.A.T Industries

## The Beauford Group Record Results

RESULTS IN £MIL	1984	1983
YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER		
Turnover	8,547,337	7,042,940
Profit before tax	718,296	557,018
Earnings per share	11.5p	11.6p
Total dividends per share	4.5p	4.5p

Extracts from the Statement by the Chairman, Mr. G. Crawford:

An increase in turnover and profit to record levels during the year despite difficult trading conditions enabled the Board to recommend an increase in the final dividend to a total for the year of 4.5p per share compared with 4p per share for 1983.

We continue to diversify our customer base and are becoming less dependent on our traditional markets. During the year we supplied goods and services to many industries and extended our product line by undertaking the supply and installation of highly technical lubrication systems. Our machine tool division is keeping up with new technology, and designs and manufactures highly sophisticated machine tools which the market now demands.

The Group has improved its liquidity and the balance sheet has been strengthened.

By reason of the size of some of the contracts being handled by the Group, our profits do not accrue at an equal rate throughout the year. It may well be, therefore, that our results for the first half of the current year will not reflect the increase in profit for the full year for which we are budgeting.

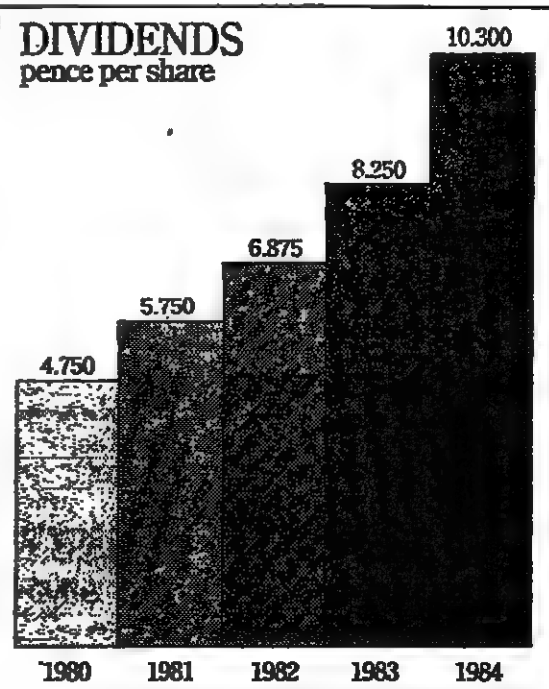
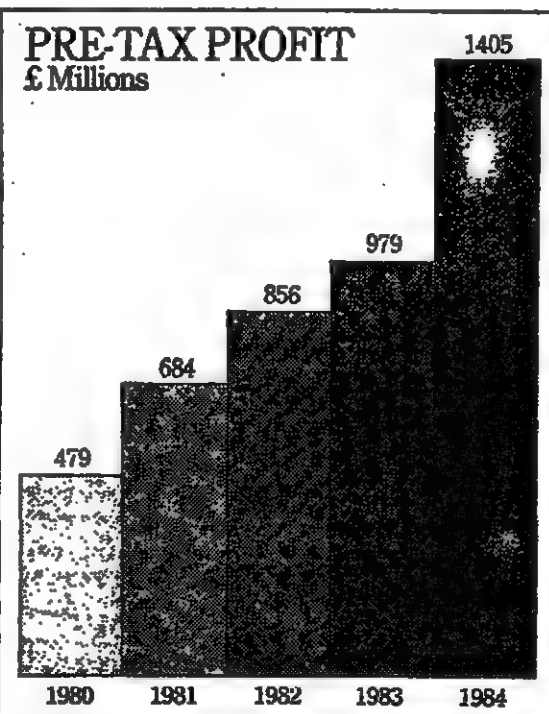
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The outlook for the world economy is uncertain, with continuing budget deficits in the US, instability in exchange and interest rates, and the growing menace of protectionism. It is, therefore, a particularly difficult environment in which to predict the Group's performance for the year. Any further weakening of the US dollar would certainly have a significant effect on the Group's reported earnings.

The results from our tobacco operations will again show a mixed picture but with an overall improvement in local currency terms, thanks to higher productivity. Total sales will also increase. Brown & Williamson is maintaining its share of the US market. The West German cigarette business will benefit from a price increase in September. Souza Cruz maintains its successful and dominant position in the Brazilian cigarette market, although political uncertainties make it difficult to forecast price increases and inflation. The prospects for Brazilian leaf exports continue to be good.

Retailing in the US remains highly competitive and promotional, but I would expect our 1985 results to be at least as good as last year's in dollar terms. Argos catalogue showrooms continue their outstanding progress in sales and profits. Horten department stores in West Germany should also show an improvement in trading profits over last year.

Wiggins Teape had a good start to the year, with its carbonless copying papers doing very well in both Britain and



Europe. Appleton Papers continues its progress in the US and will benefit during the year from its acquisition of the West Carrollton mill. Overall I expect the profits from our paper businesses to be significantly higher than last year.

We have announced our intention to sell Mardon Packaging International, but meanwhile it continues to trade well.

Eagle Star has so far achieved a substantial increase in premium income, including an improvement in rates, although claims continue at a high level on the liability, all-in and motor accounts. Hambro Life, soon to be known as Allied Dunbar, secured a record level of business in the first quarter, thanks notably to the surge of personal pension business.

Associated companies, particularly Imasco, AMATIL and Aracruz, are again expected to increase their contribution to Group earnings.

As I have mentioned, exchange rate changes do affect the Group's published results, and the current volatility in the sterling/dollar rate makes prediction impossible. Excluding exchange rate effects, I expect the Group to make further progress in pre-tax profits despite the substantial increase in net interest payable following the acquisition of Hambro Life. The rate of increase in attributable profits, however, is unlikely to be as high as has been achieved in the last few years. The Board expects to be able to recommend a dividend increase for 1985 which will be substantially in excess of the rate of inflation.



# B.A.T INDUSTRIES

The Report and Accounts for 1984 is available from the Company Secretary of B.A.T Industries p.l.c.  
WINDSOR HOUSE, 50 VICTORIA STREET, LONDON SW1H 0NL

## I.J. Dewhirst Holdings p.l.c. Clothing Manufacturers Highlights from the Statement by the Chairman, ALISTAIR J. DEWHIRST

Profits  
\* Group pre-tax profit £4,007,000 — up 17.3%.

Sales  
\* Sales £43,012,000 — up 27.7%.

Dividend  
\* Total Ordinary dividend for the year of 1.10p per share — an increase of 15.3%.

Share Issue  
\* Proposed 1 for 5 scrip issue.

Employee Share Schemes  
\* Involvement and interest continue to grow as schemes enter their fourth year.

Production and Expansion  
\* Continued investment in advanced machinery results in significant increase in output.  
\* Further substantial commitment to design capability.

Future  
\* Capability to react to change a vital ingredient.  
\* Sales comfortably ahead of last year — continued progress envisaged.

I.J. Dewhirst Holdings p.l.c., Duwair House,  
Westgate, Driffield, North Humberside, YO25 7TH.

ijd







# Micro Focus shares plummet to 300p

By Tony May  
Fears that another UK computer star was falling into a black hole in the US saw the shares of Micro Focus crash from 740p ahead of its 11 o'clock announcement of 1984-5 results to just 300p after hours. Although chairman Brian Reynolds referred to another year of growth, his group, which on Monday was worth £102.8 million, was written down to £36.7 million and his own 20 per cent holding was worth just £7.3 million instead of £20 million.

The group was perceived as an exceptionally good software house which had made the switch from entrepreneurial UK exporter (listed at 155p in 1983) to multinational with management strengths (shares reach a high of 950p which was mounting a successful full-blooded assault on the US market and doubling its staff there (shares at 740p but "fully justify their rating").

Even after the group had done its accounts for the year it still felt that profits would be something like £5 million against £2.8 million. After all it was looking at net revenue of £25.7 million to £15.4 million. The group had allowed for £2.5 million for development costs, against £542,000

and allowing £1.3 million for a currency hedge against the dollar that went wildly wrong there was plenty left. However the computer industry is not in favour of its customers were "experiencing trading problems". So while the group has secured "binding" contracts to the tune of £21 million—a rise of 123 per cent on 1983—a dose of conservative accounting was called for by the auditors.

The board has provided for £250,000 of doubtful debts—mostly of customers in trouble—and decided that £8 million of net revenue might not come in quickly and just possibly might not come in at all. After deferring these profits to future periods "it was left with a pre-tax profit down from £2.8 million to £271,000, its earnings per share crashed from 23p to a pitiful 0.1p.

So what about the "year of growth"? In fact the group is well placed in the vital US market with army contracts and business with some of the big companies. It is also a market leader with high-priced but very desirable software tools. It is doing well in Japan although the rate of growth slowed a bit last year. In 1984 it had 28 orders worth £1 million or more, against 15 the previous year. Sales in the US rose 22 per cent, in Japan by 67 per cent and in Europe and the UK by 88 per cent.

## COMPANY BRIEFING

### CASE fails to please market

A stock market still shocked by the news that the glamourised Micro Focus had almost failed to produce a profit at all was in no mood to be generous to Computer and Syst m Engineering, CASE.

The group managed a 45 per cent rise in profits to £10.5 million, little below best expectations, but the shares dropped 20p to 272.

Case is Europe's leading data communications manufacturer and Mr Duncan Fitzwilliams, the chairman, pointed to factors which made the group's progress "even more impressive" in the year.

The first was that it was the first year in which the group had broken into the US market with high initial costs incurred.

The second was that earnings a share were up from 8.95p to 11.85p in a year which saw two major issues of new capital totalling £47 million.

The US investment will not pay off until newly recruited staff "are up to speed" but sales in dollar terms were up 38 per cent to \$60.3 million. Gross margins were up from 41.0 per cent to 46.8 per cent.

Mr Peter Burton, CASE's chief executive, indicated yesterday that "strong" growth would continue throughout the group with additional facilities coming on stream alongside new products.

DUBILIER, the electronics manufacturer, overcame the problems posed by the weak market for microcomputers to raise profit by £600,000 to £2.9 million before tax on turnover £3.6 million higher at £24.7 million in the six months to March 31. The interim dividend goes up a point to 1.1p.

### BATs puff for City

The stock market liked the look of the smoke signals coming out of BAT Industries' annual meeting yesterday.

The BAT chairman, Mr Patrick Sheehy, told shareholders that the tobacco, paper, retailing and financial services giant expected to be able to recommend a dividend for 1985 that would be "substantially" in excess of the rate of inflation.

This prediction was well received in the City where BAT shares puffed up 7p to 220p, a generally dull day for the market.

Mr Sheehy said the current volatility in the dollar/stirling exchange rate made forecasting impossible. But excluding exchange rate effects he expected the group to make further progress despite the substantial increase in interest charges arising from the £640 million takeover of Hambro Life.

BAT earned a record profit for a British non-oil company last year when pre-tax profits jumped from \$979 million to £1.4 billion.

Progress in newer areas has been built in—unless industrial building collapses. The Astra ladder acquisition has opened up new markets.

Turnover of the international operations was \$7.4 million up at \$66 million, although devaluations in South Africa and New Zealand held overseas sales revenue down at a third of the total.

There was a decline in domestic door sales to just below

### Ferries dip into the red

SEA CONTAINERS, the containers and Orient Express group which bought the Sealink ferry business from British Rail last year, lost £17.2 million on its British ferry business in the first three months of the year. Mr James Sherwood, the president (pictured right), said that the losses were caused by an exceptionally harsh winter.

However Sea Containers is optimistic about the ferry business, which is being reorganised to cut losses, and expects moderate profits in the second quarter, large profits in the third quarter and break even in the fourth quarter of the year.

The Bermuda-based Sea Containers group reported net losses of £2.5 million in the first quarter.

£19 million because of lower housebuilding activity and the miners' strike, which hit replacement demand, but industrial sales took up the loss. Profitability improved overall in this main area, while Normand, the electrical equipment manufacturer picked up in the second half.

Pre-tax profit of £6.6 million against £3.7 million, owed almost all of its increase to 10 per cent to 18.1p a share, from which the indicated 6p dividend total, including a final 3.75p is being paid. This was a rise of a fifth. Cartwright has been equally liberal.

Altogether, however, earnings grew by under 10 per cent to 18.1p a share, from which the indicated 6p dividend total, including a final 3.75p is being paid. This was a rise of a fifth. Cartwright has been equally liberal.

Most of the balance of the extra provisions were from personal or small business lending. It seems that branch managers have been taking a much rosier view of their customers than some of the credit specialists further up the ladder.

The bad debts knocked Bank of Ireland's profits back from IR £70 million to under IR £53 million, in a year when retail business grew but wholesale lending contracted sharply.

### Heath's provisions

Lloyd's broker C. E. Heath is having to clear a few skeletons out of the cupboard before its proposed marriage to fellow broker Hogg Robinsons.

Heath yesterday revealed that for the second year running it has made substantial provisions against bad debts.

Heath has set aside £2.5 million because it is owed money by insurers and intermediaries. Last year the group estimated its exposure at £4.8 million and treated it as an exceptional item because the debts arose from past rather than present trading.

"A further charge is necessary this year resulting from a reappraisal of the estimated provisions in respect of those situations and from the adverse movement in currency rates," says chairman Mr Derek Newton.

Heath's profits last year rose from £23.6 million to £32.8 million after broking profits increased by 36 per cent and the underwriting contribution improved by 48 per cent. The dividend goes up from 24.28p to 30p a share.

The new "series B" shares will rank equal with shares already listed on the Toronto exchange which were issued last October to finance the Mascan acquisition.

Hammerman had agreed with the Canadian authorities that it would raise capital locally for the deal.

THE BUILDERS Merchants Federation, which speaks for 750 member companies including UBM and Sharpe & Fisher, yesterday warned that the UK's £3 billion market for building materials is likely to slump by 5 per cent this year.

Mr Stringer, president of the BMF and deputy chairman of Sharpe & Fisher, joined the rest of the building industry in calling for more investment from the Government to halt the rapid deterioration in housing.

### Canadian move

Property group Hammerson is raising additional funds in Canada to develop the Mascan portfolio it bought there last year.

Chairman Mr Sydney Mason is selling £390 million (£85 million) worth of shares to stockbrokers Wood Gundy and Walwyn Stoddell Cochran in its second fund raising operation since buying Mascan for £47 million.

The Mascan portfolio brought the UK group office properties in Ontario and the Square One shopping centre in Mississauga with 800,000 square feet of lettable space. Work has already started on phase one of a redevelopment programme, and the issue of shares at an interest rate of around 6 per cent will replace debt which carried interest at around 18 per cent.

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### Cleaners shine

Johnson Group Clean ra, which last year fought off a 547 million takeover attempt by Nottingham Manufacturing, said that it is on course to make pre-tax profits of £7.1 million for the year to June 30 as forecast during the bid.

Mr John Crockett, the chairman who retires at the end of June, said that Johnson's US sales are running at \$37 million each year and that the group has taken a 25 per cent share of the dry cleaning market in South Carolina.

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# Shares fall back despite cut in US rates

## THE MARKETS

The FT index briefly equalled its all-time high at the 10 a.m. calculation following the Bankers Trust prime rate cut in America, but thereafter prices tended to fall back on lack of follow-through support.

The underlying trend remained firm, with sentiment again helped by the number of cheerful statements at annual meetings.

The electronic sectors took another battering when Micro Focus, one of the high fliers of last year, more than halved in price to 350p (down 390p), as the company produced a shock profits slump from £2.8 million to £700,000 due to bad debt provisions caused by the problems in the micro computer industry.

Other computer shares fell in sympathy and electricals generally had another bad day, not helped by BT's recent Milid deal.

Gilt declined half-a-point on fears that the Government will soon have to raise more funds. Another small "tablet", the Treasury 21 per cent 2009 issue, ran out leaving the sector virtually "tableted". Index-linked gilts hardened a quarter as a result.

Oil slipped on price cut worries, which even bumper first-quarter profits from BP failed to dispel. BP itself closed 8p lower at 555p, but there was overnight American interest for Shell, up 13p to 721p.

Insurances retreated from recent strength. Comment on the Commercial Union losses knocked 7p from the shares at 224p.

Breweries made further steady progress in front of important interims next week, but GrandMet lost 13p to 306p as the divergent price war in America showed no sign of ending. Foods attracted selective demand, mainly on take-over speculation.

Buildings were also wanted and stores recorded a majority of plus signs. Banks had a quiet session, but discount houses fell again as City Money 7p to 51p reported a net loss of £810,089. The Prudential-Bache agreement to acquire up to 33.4pc by subscribing for £7.5 million loan stock on May 13 to 31. FT All Share Index down 2.01 to 640.92. Sterling index 78.9 (1975=100). RPI 368.1 (March) up 6.1 per cent on year.

in Clive, had already been well-aided in the press. Life insurances improved again and insurance brokers were helped by good profits performance from C.E. Heath. Golds relinquished \$1 to \$3.

Among leaders P&O gained 8p at 356p on development plans, but among the majority fallers Plessey fell 5p at 162p, Texaco East shed 5p at 448p, and after the profits downgrade were 5p off at 145p, and Vickers 8p easier at 330p.

Among stores, speculative buying gave an 8p fillip to Kwik Save at 208p, with Peters Stores also wanted. For this reason 8p better at 75p.

Following the AGM and the forecast of a highly dividend payment BAT Industries advanced 7p to 320p. Reckitts also expressed satisfaction with their annual meeting, improving 5p at 525p. Procter & Gamble expectations lopped 15p from Case at 277p, while reflecting the computer price war Applied Computers slipped 15 to 165p.

Recent issue Domino met a good investment demand rising 5p at 300p, while acquisition news on Wednesday helped Emess Light to a 10p improvement at 235p.

Main changes: GrandMet 305p down 13p, Micro Focus 350p down 390p, BP 555p down 8p, Shell 721p up 13p, Commercial Union 224p down 7p, Clive Discount 51p down 7p, Case 277p down 15p, Fisons 320p up 7p.

Equity turnover for Wednesday: Bargains, 25,788; value, £456,227 million. Tokyo: Overall prices were weaker, but a late spurt kept the market index from another tumble. Trading was moderate. Nikkei Dow Jones index: 12,358.50 (12,358.09).

Hong Kong: Stocks rallied in active trading on expectations of a domestic interest rate cut on Saturday. Hang Seng index: 1635.38 (1612.61).

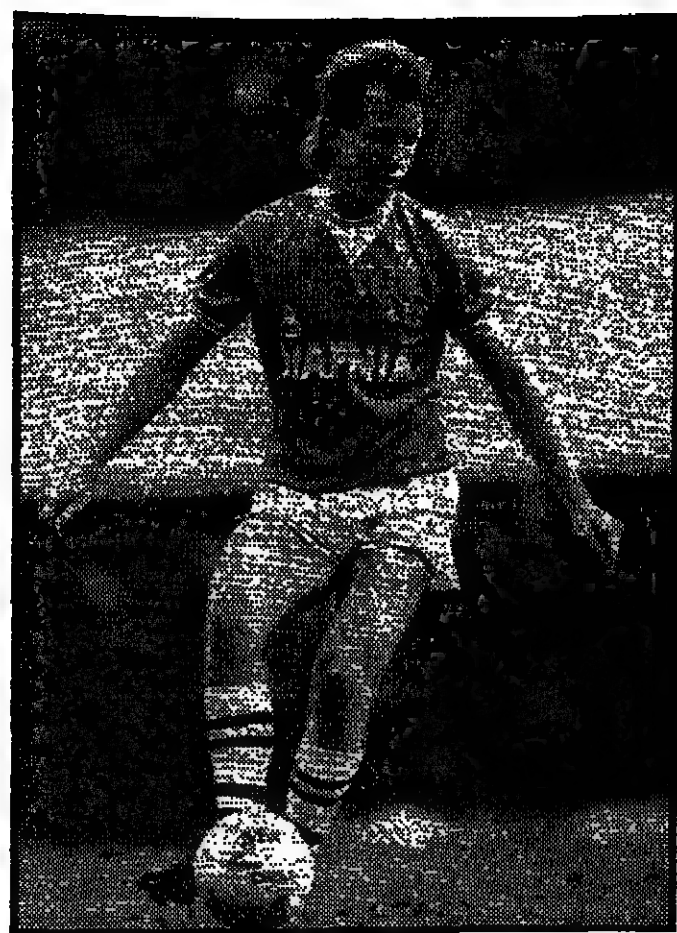
Paris and Frankfurt markets closed for holiday.

FT Ordinary Share Index down 9.8 at 1012.5. FT-SE 100 index down 6.1 at 1336.1. FT-SE 250 index down 3.8 at 1185.5. Gold: £329.50. Account: May 13 to 31. FT All Share Index down 2.01 to 640.92. Sterling index 78.9 (1975=100). RPI 368.1 (March) up 6.1 per cent on year.

## COMMODITIES

Copper: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Tin: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Lead: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Zinc: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Nickel: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Silver: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Platinum: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Palladium: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Rhodium: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Iridium: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Osmium: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Rhenium: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Technetium: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Yttrium: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Zirconium: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Niobium: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Molybdenum: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Technetium: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Ruthenium: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Rhodium: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. Palladium: 12.206 per lb, three months, 12.206. 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THE VISION: Trevor Steven, "the nearest I've seen to Alex Young"

Robert Armstrong

## Clubs pressing for two-substitute rule

League clubs will use two substitutes from next season if a proposal by the management committee is accepted by the league's annual meeting on June 7. If Third and Fourth Division clubs decide they cannot afford the cost of the extra player in travel and bus, an alternative proposal allows for the change to take place in the top two divisions only.

The procedure for re-election to the League may also be changed. It is suggested that only the bottom club in the fourth division should have to apply, not the bottom four as at present. That club would then go into a straight election fight with the Gola League champions, whose ground must be up to a required standard. If a club finished bottom two seasons running, they would automatically be demoted, provided the incoming club's facilities were acceptable. However, the move is unlikely to be supported by the Gola League clubs who have been seeking automatic promotion and relegation for several seasons.

In an effort to improve relations with referees, clubs are also being asked to agree that captains should take team sheets to the referee before the kick-off. It is also suggested that captains wear armbands on the field. Among other motions to be discussed is an initiative by Tottenham to stipulate a minimum of five years' continuous service in

stead of the current 10, as a qualification for a testimonial. Meanwhile, Tottenham yesterday launched an experiment in community relations designed to promote the club in the Home Counties. The Spurs Road Show, featuring disco dancing, competitions, and quizzes, will tour community centres and local football clubs in a drive to increase support for the club.

The League's TV negotiating committee must consider proposals by one of their members, Coventry City, Crystal Palace, the FA to take England international of the screen next season. The Chelsea chairman, who also wants a ban on the transmission of European ties, hopes to bring pressure to bear on the television companies to agree the kind of contract the League has suggested.

Elsewhere, Bobby Gould was yesterday appointed manager of Bristol Rovers, the club he left two years ago to take over Coventry City. Crystal Palace are likely to receive an offer of around £3 million from property developers Marler Estates, who want to buy Selhurst Park; and Dave Watson, the 38-year-old player-coach of North County, has been released by the club following their relegation to the Third Division.

George Best will play for Aston Villa today against West Bromwich Albion in a match to raise money for the Bradford City fire disaster appeal.

**TENNIS:** Diane van Rensburg, the South African junior, highlighted the stupidity of the women's system for accepting players into tournaments. She has been required to qualify in each of the five tournaments of the LTA circuit which ends at Lee on Somerset tomorrow despite coming through in three of the tournaments and being in with a chance of winning the final event. Yesterday she reached the semi-final against Elena

Retnach with a 6-2, 6-4 win over Helena Olsson of Sweden. Both British girls were eliminated but Jeremy Bates took a semi-final place with a 6-0, 4-0 win over Nick Fulwood of Derbyshire. He meets Peter Hockley of Sweden today.

**HOCKEY:** Helen Woodward, winner of the rugby international Clive, is on a short list of five reserves for England's tour of New Zealand and Australia from August 24 to September 24.

## RESULTS

**WORLD CUP Soccer** (Continued from p. 23)  
Guatemala 0, Haiti 0 (at Guatemala City).  
Guinea 1, 1, Trinidad & Tobago 1 (at St. Louis).

**FRIENDLY INTERNATIONAL (Goalkeepers):** Scotland 3, England 3.

**15-15 INTERNATIONAL (Seasons):** Wales 3, England 3.

**Rugby Union** (International Match) (Tulsa): France 36, USSR 21.

**ENGLISH OPEN AMATEUR CHAMPIONSHIP** (Sutton Coldfield): 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, 112th, 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, 120th, 121st, 122nd, 123rd, 124th, 125th, 126th, 127th, 128th, 129th, 130th, 131st, 132nd, 133rd, 134th, 135th, 136th, 137th, 138th, 139th, 140th, 141st, 142nd, 143rd, 144th, 145th, 146th, 147th, 148th, 149th, 150th, 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8-45 Feedback. The Beeb answers its critics.

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 The Best of Scotland. 8 0 *Land*

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5 From the Weeklies, 11 30 Radio  
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BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

WHO WOULD BELIEVE the month is 30 today?

DEATHS

**SEDDON, GEORGE O.B.E.** — Of 14, 1955, died peacefully at home, 14, 1955, aged 88 years. The dearly loved husband of the late Mrs. Seddon. He was a member of the 1st Battalion, The Buffs, and served in the Middle East. He was a member of the 1st Battalion, The Buffs, and served in the Middle East. He was a member of the 1st Battalion, The Buffs, and served in the Middle East.

LEGAL TRUSTEES

**NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN** pursuant to section 27 of the Trustee Act 1925, that any person having a claim against or interest in the estate of any of the deceased persons whose names are set out below, is hereby notified to send in writing to the undersigned, a statement of the claim or interest, and the grounds on which it is based, within the period specified, after which date the estate will be distributed to the persons entitled to it.

FOSTERING AND ADOPTION SERVICES

**JOHANNA, S.** is a lively, friendly, intelligent, and affectionate 7-year-old girl, who is available for adoption.

ADVERTISING IN GUARDIAN PERSONAL

**WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW** STYLES AND RATES

**STYLE 1** This is a large advertisement. It costs £40 per line, with a minimum of 10 lines. There are approximately four words per line.

**STYLE 2** This style is as above with the addition of one line of white space above and below the advertisement. The cost of this style is four lines.

**STYLE 3** This style is as above with the addition of one line of white space above and below the advertisement. The cost of this style is four lines.

**STYLE 4** This style is as above with the addition of one line of white space above and below the advertisement. The cost of this style is four lines.

**THIS IS A CLASSIFIED DISPLAY ADVERTISEMENT** It is contained within its own distinctive border and has the same minimum space quoted for semi-display. Photographs and company logos may be used in Classified Display, which costs £24.50 per single column centimetre.

**BOX NUMBERS** — These are £11 extra and all replies should be addressed to our Manchester Office.

**REPLY BOXES** — These are £11 extra and all replies should be addressed to our Manchester Office.

**HOW TO BOOK** — For expert advice on how to get the most from your advertisement, please contact our Manchester Office.

**REMARKS** — Advertisements will be accepted by telephone or post but must arrive by 11.00 a.m. on the day of publication.

**REVIEWS, MARKETING AND REVENUE** — These are £11 extra and all replies should be addressed to our Manchester Office.

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## Civil servants ditch left in ballot

By John Ardill,  
Labour Correspondent

Moderates regained control of the biggest civil service union, the Civil and Public Services Association, yesterday, taking 26 of the 29 executive seats in a complete reversal of last year's results.

A ballot of the union's branches removed all Militant Tendency supporters and Trotskyists from the executive. The result was foreseen when the union's broad left movement, which took control on a common state last year, split between a Militant-dominated group and a coalition of Labour and Communist party members. The two groups put up separate lists of candidates this year.

This year's successful left-wing candidates included Mr Ray Alderson, a CP member, who was senior vice-president



Alistair Grahame  
sweeping victory

last year and nominated by the union to the CPSA's seat on the TUC general council in place of the general secretary, Mr Alistair Grahame. The others are Mr John Caldwell and Mr Mike Duggan.

The leader of the moderate group, Mrs Kate Losinska, was re-elected president with two fellow moderates as vice-presidents. Mr John Billoren and Mrs Marion Chambers.

Mr Grahame said: "I am extremely pleased that the Militant Tendency has been smashed out of sight." He credited the results to a high-96 per cent poll, the split in the broad left, and confusion over the recent strike ballot on pay.

Mrs Losinska said: "The government has got to realise that if they persistently deal harshly with their own employees on pay and conditions they merely create an atmosphere in which political activists can thrive."

Board responds to union's ballot result by calling off talks on new code for pit closures review

## Nacods overtime ban will hit coal output

By Keith Harper  
and Peter Hetherington

The National Coal Board last night retaliated against the decision of the pit deputies union Nacods to impose an immediate overtime ban by calling off its attempts to set up a new colliery review procedure.

A crucial meeting on the new procedure was to have been held today but on hearing the result of the Nacods ballot, the board immediately cancelled it.

In a terse statement it said that it was surprising that the ban had been imposed, in view of the considerable progress which had been made in establishing a new procedure. The decision of the National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shotfirers announced yesterday, showed that some 60 per cent of the union's members were in favour of the ban, the imposition of which requires a simple majority of the membership. In a union of some 18,000 members, 7,821 voted for the ban and 5,959 against.

Mr Ken Sampey, Nacods' president, said that the board had reneged on an agreement with the unions that no pit would be closed unless it went through the new review procedure. He accused the board of closing pits without going through the procedure. "If anybody thinks for one moment that the board will not close a pit on the grounds of economics, they are living on a different planet," he said.

The membership was disgusted at the board's attitude and felt it had been conned. He was quite happy with the decision, although the industry needed a dispute at this time "like a hole in the head."

He said the union would be going to today's meeting whatever the attitude of the NCB. The overtime ban would take immediate effect.

The ban means that maintenance work, usually carried out by Nacods members on overtime shifts, will be done during normal working hours and will have an effect on coal production. Among the first people to feel that ban, if it is widely implemented, will be the miners. Without the presence of Nacods' members no coal can be produced.

Nacods' suspicion that the board had reneged on its agreement to set up a new review procedure, were heightened when the board closed Bemas colliery in South Wales without at first putting it into procedure.

In other parts of the country, the board told local officials another union leaders claimed, as it announced plans for further closures.

The board yesterday announced the closure of two pits in the Barnsley area, and the merger of four others.

Around 3,000 jobs will be lost by this latest cut-back in the heartland of Mr Arthur Seargill, the NUM president.

A further run-down in Yorkshire is expected shortly with colliery review meetings scheduled in the Doncaster and South Yorkshire areas. The board said last night that whatever happened at these meetings, there would be manpower cuts because so many men had indicated they wanted to leave the industry.

The Barnsley area pits to close are Darfield Main (by the end of September) and Emley Moor (in December). In addition Woolley colliery, where Mr Seargill began work with run down and merge with North Gawber pit at the end of the year.

The Bulcliffe Wood and Calder drift mines will also merge with the Denby Grange colliery in September.

Mr Seargill said: "If this is happening to us, in a coal field which apparently has a future, what are the prospects in other areas? A lot of people said we were alarmed during the dispute, that we were just out to make trouble and there was no need for a strike and no hit-list. I only hope they sit back and reflect what has happened."

The Lord Mayor of Bradford, Mr Oliver Messer, invited the Prime Minister yesterday after the Government announced a £250,000 donation to the Bradford Disaster Appeal, which now stands at £650,000.

Four of the nine people in the burns unit were said to be "critical" yesterday when the names of those who died were released by the coronor, Mr James Turnbull.

Three families each lost three members; seven other families lost two relatives and four relatives died together.

'Silence' after letters: Dead named, page 2.

The disaster killed 11 children aged between 11 and 16 and the oldest victim was 89.

The full addresses of the dead have been withheld by the coronor, who is due to open the inquest on them today.

Robert and Richard Ormondroyd, twins aged 12, died with their father, Gerald, aged 40. Craig Stockman, aged 16, and his sister Jane, aged 18, also died with their father, Trevor, aged 38. Mr Peter Greenwood, aged 46, a deputy headmaster from Denholme, Bradford, died with his sons Felix, aged 18, and Rupert, 11.

Four members of the Fletcher family, from Gildersome, Pudsey, and East Bridgeford, also died. They were 11-year-old Andrew, his father John, aged 34, grandfather Edmond, aged 63, and his uncle, Peter, aged 32.

Two married couples died. They were Mr Frederick Hindle, aged 76, and his wife Edith, aged 78, from Bradford, and disabled couple, Mr Gordon Stuart McPherson, aged 39, and his wife Irene, aged 38, from Bradford.

Bradford City Council's social services department, which have handled disasters to learn from their experience.

Mr John Crook, the director of social services, said that his department had received more than 500 calls offering help. People have offered free transport for relatives of the dead, cooking and cleaning, baby-sitting services and also help with taking survivors' relatives to and from hospitals.

Many people would be suffering for months and in some cases, years. Some who had been at the ground on Saturday were having to deal with severe psychological problems and as much help as possible was being given to them.

Two prisoners have been found hanged to separate goals. John Andrew Bayford, (28) was found today in his cell at Leeds Prison.

Matthew Gilmore, (31) was found hanged in his cell in Birmingham Prison hospital.

## Pym's loyalty pledge fails to move critics

By James Naughtie,  
Chief Political Correspondent

Mr Francis Pym was given a frosty reception by his Tory colleagues last night when he responded to the attacks on his dissent Conservative Centre Forward group with a proclamation of loyalty to his party.

He sought permission to make a personal statement at the weekly private meeting of the 1922 committee of backbenchers. His group, beset by difficulties since its launch earlier this week, would not organise itself in coordinated rebellion against the Government, he said.

Later, in a BBC television interview, he repeated the assurance by saying: "We are in no sense a party within a party." He believed his short

speech had been well received, but several backbenchers said they thought the reaction notably cool. No discussion ensued: Mr Pym's statement was simply left to stand, which some felt helped to give it an even more defensive air.

Before the meeting, Government ships had tried to stop traditionally volatile right wingers from mounting an attack on Mr Pym in the belief that it would be counterproductive.

They feel that the two defections from his group so far have helped their case. They privately accept, however, that yesterday's Gallup poll, putting behind Labour and the SDP, Liberal Alliance has not helped their argument that the Government is set on course with support holding firm.

The Prime Minister chose to make his means of attack in the Commons when she was taunted from the Opposition benches.

With Mr Pym chuckling in animated fashion behind her, she noted that Dr Rhodes Boyson, one of her driest ministers had written a book called Centre Forward seven years ago. "I am delighted to find he has got so many new supporters," she said.

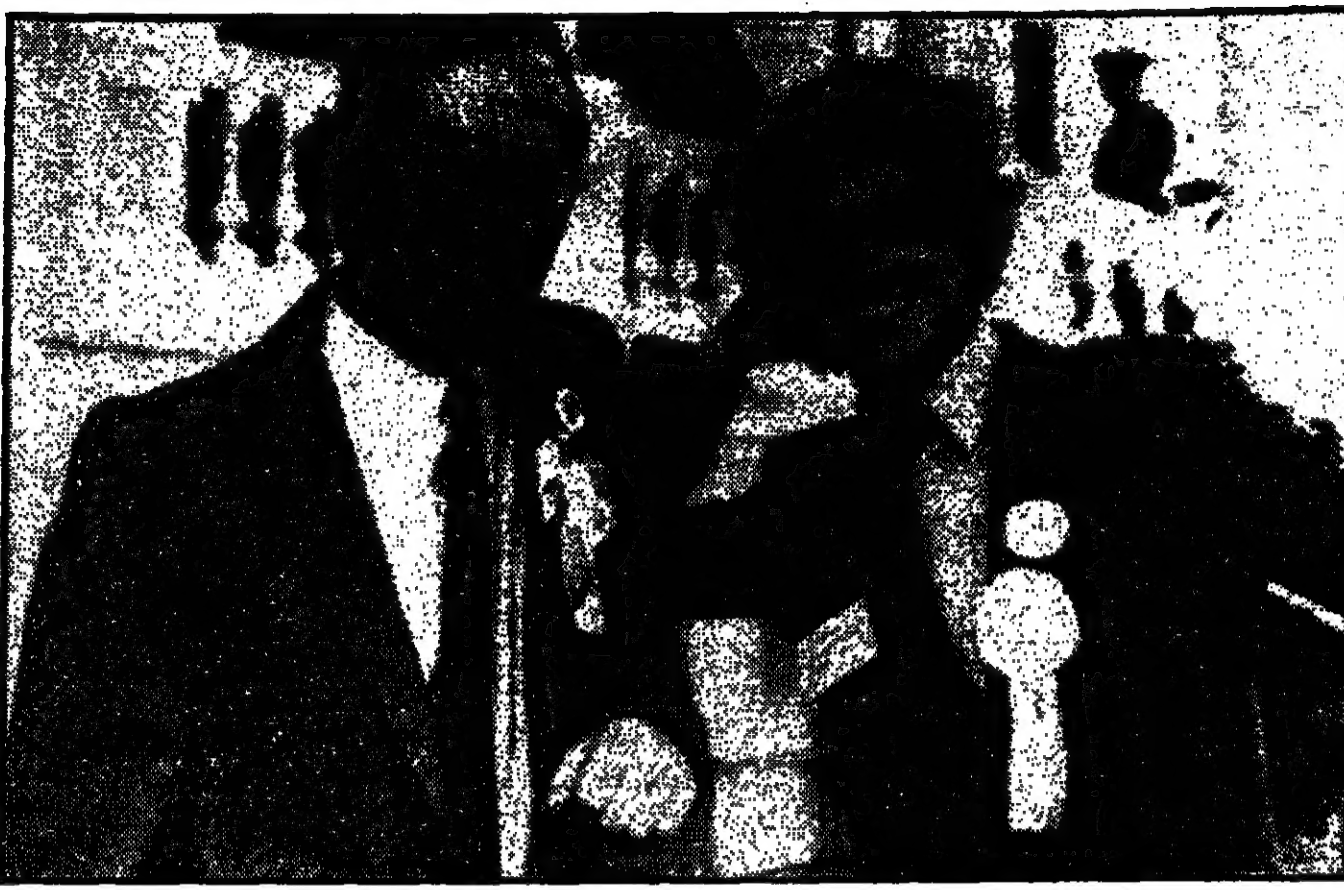
But Mrs Thatcher was unequivocal when asked if she would change policy. "No, I shall carry on," she said.

Although her business managers believe they succeeded in minimising the effect of Mr Pym's group — partly by co-ordinated use of ministers and constituency chairmen to persuade known doubters to refrain from joining — the former foreign secretary says that even without organised rebellions, the weight of the group's arguments will succeed in changing some government policy.

Ironically, one of the few members said to have pressed the case for a whipping system for the dissenters is Mr Jerry Hayes, MP for Harlow. He subsequently defected amid complaints from the group's fringe.

It is accepted among Tory wets that Mr Pym's initiative has had a bad start, but senior figures around him insist that they do not intend to allow the group to fade away.

After only a few days, however, it is the object of ridicule from traditional Tories. At the mention of Mr Pym during Prime Minister's questions yesterday Mrs Elaine Kellett-Bowman, Tory MP for Lancaster, shouted: "It is disintegrated." Her comments met with loud laughter.



Face-setters: Two of the first Sinn Fein victors to be announced in Ulster's local elections, Mr Gerard McGuigan (left) and Mr Bobby Lavery, outside the court in Belfast yesterday

## Sinn Fein triumphs in Ulster poll

Continued from page one

Party, which had 21 seats, by overtaking other independents and by bringing out once-dormant voters.

Mr Gerry Adams, the president of Sinn Fein, asserted last night that his party's showing would force the SDLP to adopt a more radical line.

He said that Sinn Fein councillors would not look for trouble, but neither would they run away from it.

Before the election, Sinn Fein debated its expected showing by predicting winning between 30 and 35 seats. It did not attempt to take on the SDLP all over the province, but chose instead to target areas where it knew it had concentrated support.

At the end of counting last night, the state of the parties was: DUP 122; DUP 100; SDLP 60; Sinn Fein 33; Alliance 22; and others 31. Counting continues today.

A 16-year-old youth was in hospital in Londonderry last night after being hit on the head by a plastic bullet fired by the police during rioting in the city on Wednesday evening.

The City of London Anti-Apartheid group, which last year won a long battle against a police attempt to move its weekly vigil away from the front of the South African Embassy, is to meet the Home Office Minister of State, Mr Giles Shaw, to seek an assurance that it will continue to be allowed to demonstrate there.

"The police are to be given draconian and arbitrary powers to determine how and when people can demonstrate," said an AA statement.

"Many of our supporters have already experienced harassment by prejudiced police when they have been picketing Barclays banks, shops selling South African goods, and sports events with South African participants."

The president of Association of Chief Police Officers, Mr Charles McLachlan, who is chief constable of Nottinghamshire, said the proposals endorsed en masse existing practice. "I must stress that we do believe in basic freedoms and want to protect them," he said. "But everybody's freedom must be protected, all the way through, is to alter as little as we can. You don't solve problems by making laws you can't enforce."

Mr Leslie Curtis, the chairman of the Police Federation, said: "What we want to see is something which deals effectively with the mass demonstration and picketing situation. The proposals appear to give more discretion to senior police officers to use their common sense. I believe that, in the end, the vast majority of the British public will back these measures."

## Government attacked about plan to give police powers over marches

Continued from page one

lashed rights. "In many cases, it puts the onus on the police to make judgments on political and industrial relations matters."

"The danger is that, by giving wider discretionary powers to the police, it could lead to disorder and confusion on occasions when consistency and clarity are needed. Unions will be particularly concerned at proposals to impose conditions on static demonstrations and at the threat to recover costs from those organising demonstrations."

The City of London Anti-Apartheid group, which last year won a long battle against a police attempt to move its weekly vigil away from the front of the South African Embassy, is to meet the Home Office Minister of State, Mr Giles Shaw, to seek an assurance that it will continue to be allowed to demonstrate there.

"The police are to be given draconian and arbitrary powers to determine how and when people can demonstrate," said an AA statement.

"Many of our supporters have already experienced harassment by prejudiced police when they have been picketing Barclays banks, shops selling South African goods, and sports events with South African participants."

The president of Association of Chief Police Officers, Mr Charles McLachlan, who is chief constable of Nottinghamshire, said the proposals endorsed en masse existing practice. "I must stress that we do believe in basic freedoms and want to protect them," he said. "But everybody's freedom must be protected, all the way through, is to alter as little as we can. You don't solve problems by making laws you can't enforce."

Mr Leslie Curtis, the chairman of the Police Federation, said: "What we want to see is something which deals effectively with the mass demonstration and picketing situation. The proposals appear to give more discretion to senior police officers to use their common sense. I believe that, in the end, the vast majority of the British public will back these measures."

Many people would be suffering for months and in some cases, years. Some who had been at the ground on Saturday were having to deal with severe psychological problems and as much help as possible was being given to them.

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rates on the same lines as similar institutions in countries like Germany and France.

Mr Hattersley stressed that commercial viability would be at the forefront of each project, but companies borrowing from the NIB would have to produce a business plan agreed by management, workers and the NIB. He said that the NIB would specifically be precluded from lending money to firms that were not potentially viable.

The NIB will not exist to subsidise jobs or stave off inevitable collapse," he said.

Labour intends to finance the greatly expanded NIB by offering tax incentives to the City's financial institutions to repatriate about £20 billion of funds invested outside Britain since Mrs Thatcher abolished exchange controls in 1979.

But the full details of these tax incentives are still awaiting endorsement by the National Executive and party.

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## Royals set to visit Bradford survivors

By Malcolm Pithers

The Prince and Princess of Wales hope to visit survivors of the Bradford fire disaster on Monday.

Buckingham Palace said last night that the visit depended on medical advice about the condition of patients in the regional burns unit at Wakefield Hospital.

Mrs Thatcher may also visit Bradford soon. A Downing Street spokesman said last night that she would very much like to go to the city and was considering how to fit a trip into her engagements.

The Lord Mayor of Bradford, Mr Oliver Messer, invited the Prime Minister yesterday after the Government announced a £250,000 donation to the Bradford Disaster Appeal, which now stands at £650,000.

Four of the nine people in the burns unit were said to be "critical" yesterday when the names of those who died were released by the coronor, Mr James Turnbull.

Three families each lost three members; seven other families lost two relatives and four relatives died together.

'Silence' after letters: Dead named, page 2.

The disaster killed 11 children aged between 11 and 16 and the oldest victim was 89.

The full addresses of the dead have been withheld by the coronor, who is due to open the inquest on them today.

Robert and Richard Ormondroyd, twins aged 12, died with their father, Gerald, aged 40. Craig Stockman, aged 16, and his sister Jane, aged 18, also died with their father, Trevor, aged 38. Mr Peter Greenwood, aged 46, a deputy headmaster from Denholme, Bradford, died with his sons Felix, aged 18, and Rupert, 11.

Four members of the Fletcher family, from Gildersome, Pudsey, and East Bridgeford, also died. They were 11-year-old Andrew, his father John, aged 34, grandfather Edmond, aged 63, and his uncle, Peter, aged 32.

Two married couples died. They were Mr Frederick Hindle, aged 76, and his wife Edith, aged 78, from Bradford, and disabled couple, Mr Gordon Stuart McPherson, aged 39, and his wife Irene, aged 38, from Bradford.

Bradford City Council's social services department, which have handled disasters to learn from their experience.

Mr John Crook, the director of social services, said that his department had received more than 500 calls offering help. People have offered free transport for relatives of the dead, cooking and cleaning, baby-sitting services and also help with taking survivors' relatives to and from hospitals.

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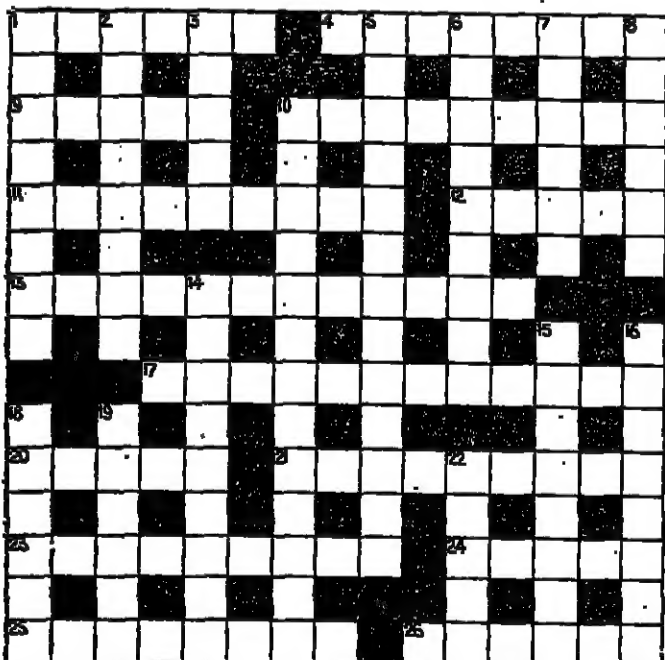
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## GUARDIAN CROSSWORD 17,238

CUSTOS



ACROSS

- 1 Give up defence? That's mad, Sir, monstrous (6).
- 4 Group of foreign high-ups, when admitted into party committee (8).
- 9 Retreat of line, by the way, will bring defeat (3).
- 10 Little one exhausted by a bit of geometry and adding up (9).
- 11 Associate can report changes (9).
- 12 Audience's noticed unseemly display of temper (5).
- 13 Child acquired in advance by the German, grabbing anything (4-5).
- 17 Go off after work stoppage to get a match going (6, 1, 5).
- 20 Some time with one alluring nymph (5).</